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ART. I.—*A Treatise on Justification.* By GEORGE JUNKIN, D. D.,  
President of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. Pp. 328. 12mo.  
Philadelphia: J. Whetham. 1839.

It is a consolatory truth, that our faith stands not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. So foolish are the wise of this world, so dark the most enlightened, that none could confidently trust eternal interests to such unworthy keeping. In approaching the fountains of heavenly wisdom, we cannot use too much simplicity; here only implicit faith is called for. Nor should this faith end when it has brought us to the Bible for instruction; we should still look to the inspired word, alone and self-interpreting, to reveal its own philosophy, and to guide us in all matters of faith and morals. A failure thus to esteem the word of revelation has ever been an evil of no inconsiderable magnitude among Christians. We are deeply sensible that too much refinement has been attempted in the elucidation of the gospel, and that an overdoing marks almost every system of theology. It is not enough to know the truths necessary to salvation, men also require the philosophy of the system of grace; not satisfied to know that the sinner may be raised from his fallen estate, they would also know every part of the machinery by which he is elevated and delivered. Doubtless there is a philosophical principle pervading the plan of recovering mercy, but it is equally certain that we but faintly and imperfectly perceive it. It rises too high and sinks too deep, it is altogether too vast for human comprehension. "These things the angels desire to look into," and no doubt find them more than their seraphic intellects can fully understand. Still, the subject is above all others worthy of our attention, not so much, however, as a subject of scrutiny, as of wonder and admiration.

It were well could we always decide what is cognizable and what is inscrutable, that we might neither rest in idle ignorance

VOL. V.—1

of what should be known, nor rush with heedless steps "where angels dread to gaze." To us the gospel seems to have lost much of its efficiency by appearing in the borrowed trappings of the schools. The philosophy of Plato first palsied its arm, when in youthful vigor it was subduing thrones and dominions; that of Aristotle held it in dizzy trance for a thousand years. The Reformation, by abjuring philosophy and evoking the word of life, broke the spell and restored liberty to the gospel. Such plain truths as the fall of man, redemption by Christ, justification by faith and salvation by grace, are readily apprehended. But when we pass beyond these, and attempt a philosophical explanation of the whole economy of grace, we are in danger of "darkening counsel by words without knowledge."

This excess of philosophy is the more to be deprecated, since by reason of it the theory of the gospel is frequently learned before the gospel itself. Then what is afterward learned is interpreted by a preconceived theory, which, acting as a false lens, distorts and deranges the symmetry of the system of saving grace. Nor does the matter end in speculative errors. Man is naturally a logician, and therefore the simplest states of mind afford the purest logic. Persons of speculative habits may so torture their minds as to leave but little sympathy between their opinions and actions; but most men will act as they think. Simplicity may indeed expose to impositions from sophistry; but whatever premises may have been adopted, the unsophisticated mind hastens to the legitimate conclusion. Hence, though the evil tendency of any tenet may lie a little under the surface, it is not therefore the less dangerous; the proper inferences will generally be made.

The chief glory of Protestantism is, that it rejects human traditions, and adheres to the word of God—that it replaces the subtleties of the schools by the plain statements of the Bible. But as the Reformation, though the work of the Holy Spirit, was effected through human means, it were not to be expected that a work absolutely perfect would be accomplished through such instrumentalities. Some part of Reformed Christendom never escaped from the shackles of the past; others, breaking wholly away from prescriptive authority, leaned too much to their own understanding. It is acknowledged by his admirers that Calvin never fully lost the influence of the schoolmen, and that his "danger is, pushing his statements beyond the Scriptures." His theological system has been greatly enlarged and refined upon since his time, so that it would not be difficult to show that he was not more than half a Calvinist, according to the present acceptation of that term. The



doctrine set forth by the author under review is among these extra-Calvinian parts of systematic Calvinism.

The history of doctrinal theology for the past half century indicates that this system, having had its day, was about to share the fate of all things human, and take its place among the things that were. But as the strongest currents produce the greatest eddies, so the progress of truth not unfrequently gives occasion to the most violent efforts to re-establish some falling error. The preaching of the whole gospel, by casting into the shade the doctrine of partial atonement and discriminating grace, has awakened the advocates of those superannuated dogmas to endeavors to revive "Old School divinity." This movement is manifested not only in the rupture of ecclesiastical bodies, but still more in attempts to renew the antiquated works of old divines, and to revive doctrinal discussions for some time not much agitated. The work named at the head of this article is a specimen of this latter class of productions. In his preface the author complains of the laxness of the age as to attention to doctrinal opinions, and the general indifference to *definite* religious knowledge; and declares these to be the occasion of this publication. Supposing that the works of Boston, Owen, Witherspoon, and Edwards have fallen into desuetude, he would express their quintessence into his little volume; for though ostensibly a treatise on justification, it is not confined to that particular point, but considers it in connection with its cognate doctrines. In our notice of the book we shall attend less to its literary than to its doctrinal character. Differing with the author in his whole theory, we shall endeavor to give him a fair hearing before the reader, and in each case to show cause for our dissent.

The theology here sought to be revived may be distinguished as the system of the "covenants." A learned divine of former times, when he had composed "a complete body of divinity," entitled his work "The Economy of the Covenants," designating by that name all of the divine dispensations. The word "covenant" seems to have misled many to suppose that in these dispensations are to be found all the elements of a complete covenant between contracting parties—a position wholly untenable. "The word usually translated *covenant*, in the New Testament more properly signifies a *dispensation* or *appointment*, which is indeed suited to the majesty of law, and even to the authoritative establishment of a sole method of pardon. But in both there are parties, *not to the original institution*, but to their beneficent accomplishment, and *in this view* may be termed a covenant."—*Watson*. Thus guarded, (and it is only such a guard as is required to keep it to its Scriptural

sense,) we make no objection to the use of the word ; but then it would fail to answer the end proposed by those who most delight in its use. There are usually reckoned two principal covenants,—the first called “the covenant of works,” made by God with Adam immediately after his creation ; the second called “the covenant of grace,” made by the Father and Son from eternity. In the elucidation of the system, however, they are shown to be virtually and substantially the same,—being identical in the essential particulars of parties, tenure, and assent. In the first God treats with the human race through their representative, Adam ; in the second, with the same party through the second Adam, Jesus Christ. In both the terms are, that the representative shall render obedience, by which those represented shall be justified. But in the second, as, by the failure of the first representative, the represented party were under the curse, penalty for the first transgression is required, as well as obedience, in order to justification. The representative character is here the fullest possible, wholly absorbing individual responsibility, and leaving only the susceptibility of pleasure or pain. So perfect is the oneness of the head and the members of the covenanting party, man, that the act of the head is really and truly the act of the members, and therefore the legal results of his acts are properly consequent to them. Had Adam kept the law during the period of his probation, his whole race, then federally in him, would have been saved beyond possible failure ; and when he broke it, it was equally right that God should for that cause doom all his race to perdition. But God, in his own sovereign mercy, was pleased to appoint a second representative for a *portion* of Adam’s fallen race ; who, by suffering in their stead the penalty due for Adam’s sin, redeemed them from death ; and, by keeping the law in their stead, procured for them the rewards of everlasting life.

This theory of the “covenants,” it will be seen, carries along with it the whole of old-fashioned Antinomian Calvinism,—decrees, unconditional election and reprobation, final perseverance, and finished salvation. The whole is a self-consistent theory, and only wants a foundation of evidence ; of which, by the way, it is singularly deficient.

It is an abuse of language to apply an accommodated term in a sense widely different from that to which it was accommodated. The Bible does not teach that the divine dispensations are of the nature of contracts or treaties among sovereign states. By examining the first “covenant,” it will be found that two of three particulars which constitute a covenant are wanting. It was not

made by the parties, for Adam had no existence when it was made,—the “covenant” being the same with the divine law, which is eternal; and if Adam, when he came into conscious being, found the law in full force upon him, though he no doubt approved it, still his approbation had nothing to do with the establishment of the “covenant.” It was appointed by divine authority; its nature was essentially in being from eternity, and the creation of man could in no wise change it, nor was his approval necessary to give it authority. So thought the great Witsius: “The law,” says he, “is deduced, by infallible consequence, from the nature of God and man. I presuppose that the great God has a sovereign and uncontrollable power and dominion over all his creatures. This authority is founded primarily and radically, not on creation, *nor on any contract entered into with the creature*, as some less solidly maintain; but on the majesty, supremacy, sovereignty, and eminence of God, which are his essential attributes, and would have been in God, though no creature had actually existed.”\* This is, beyond dispute, a more rational and Scriptural statement of the case than that of Dr. Junkin, who supposes that man’s assent was an essential ingredient of the “covenant” of works. After stating that a covenant “includes three leading items, viz., the parties, the terms, and the voluntary assent or agreement,” he proceeds as follows:—

“Now is there any moral transaction between God and man wherein the principles above recited are involved? Is there any proposition made by God to man, of the something to be done by the latter? any restipulation of something to be done by the former? any agreement of both? any penal sanctions? To all such interrogatories every superficial reader of the Bible, much more every accurate observer of its contents, must answer affirmatively.”

“God leaves Adam to choose his course,—he does exercise volition, and that under no constraining perils calculated to interfere with his choice. This is perfectly plain and indisputable. . . . Yet it is true, in one sense, that he could not object. He could not without sin.”

“There is not a hint at anything like a refusal on the part of Adam before the act of violation. The whole history is perfectly consistent with the supposition that he did cheerfully agree. . . . Adam was after his sin abundantly disposed to excuse himself. . . . Now, most assuredly, if Adam could in truth have said, I never *consented* to abstain,—I never *agreed* to the terms proposed,—I have broken no *pledge*,—he would have presented this apology or justification. But he was dumb: he offered no apology. Can any reasonable man want further evidence of his consent?”—Pp. 46, 47, 49.

We pass in silence over the self-confident assumptions of what

\* Economy of the Covenants, chap. iii, sec. 8.



must be done by "every superficial reader of the Bible," and "any reasonable man," and come to examine our author's positions. It is evident that he holds Adam's assent to have been necessary to render the covenant valid; and had he withheld his assent, and committed the act for which he was condemned, he would have had an "apology or justification." All this is quite explicit in statement, though not so well supported by evidence. But we are greatly at a loss how to reconcile the learned doctor with himself, when he also says, that "he could not object without sin." The two propositions, side by side, stand thus: 1. Had not Adam consented to the tenure of the covenant of works, it would have been a cause of justification when he ate of the forbidden fruit: 2. Had not Adam consented to the terms of the covenant of works, in the day that God created him, it would have been sin. Now there appears to us not only a plain contradiction in these two expressions, but the latter seems also to contradict the part with which it is immediately connected; for if to refuse assent was to sin, surely there were some "constraining perils calculated to interfere with his choice," should that be to dissent. "This is" (to us) "perfectly indisputable." We are equally at a loss as to the character of that sin of which Adam would have been guilty, had he refused his consent to the terms of the covenant. We had supposed that the advocates of the covenant theology hold sin, and non-compliance with the terms of the covenant, to be equivalent expressions. But here, while we are listening to instruction which teaches that the covenant became obligatory by Adam's consent to its terms, we are gravely told that he would have sinned in objecting! We have heard of "uncovenanted mercies" from another source, but the penalty of such a sin must be something hitherto unheard of—"uncovenanted wrath." The whole affair is a miserable attempt to patch up an excuse for the condemnation of the "non-elect," for Adam's sin; as though he having assented to the terms of the proposed covenant, and then broke them, all were justly condemned to eternal death for it. Still, all must be conscious that it is man's duty to obey God even without having *agreed* to do so; our author felt this, and therefore inserted one true expression in the midst of his sophisms, which, like Aaron's rod among those of the magicians, swallows them all. There is no doubt sufficient occasion for this change of ground among the school of theologians who hold these peculiarities, since the times of Witsius. The apparent injustice and cruelty of the horrible decree of unconditional reprobation have been so closely pressed, that they would escape it by this fiction of consent. But the web is too thin to bear its own

weight. *No reasonable man believes that man's consent is necessary to render him wholly subject to his Maker*; and therefore every conclusion drawn from such premises is without proper foundation, and an insult to the common sense of mankind.

In all his dispensations God acts as an absolute sovereign. He does right, for it is not in his nature to do wrong. His eternal essence is the original pattern of all moral excellence; the notions of right and wrong found in the human heart are but transcripts of it, perverted at times, but generally correcting their own obliquities. Whether this power is of natural discernment, or the effect of "that true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world," we stop not now to determine. Of this moral perception in man God takes cognizance when he commends his dispensations to human scrutiny, and challenges the approbation of his rational creatures. A conviction of the rectitude of the divine economy is necessary to the maintenance of moral government. Hence it is requisite, not only that "the Judge of all the earth should do right," but also that the righteousness of his judgments should be manifest. To meet this necessity, God has made a declaration of the righteousness of his ways, in such clearness, and so suited to the sense of right found in every heart, that in our sinful world "every mouth is stopped." The notions of moral right with which we have now to do, relate to the nature of human responsibility. It is a universal sentiment, that no one should be responsible for that which he cannot control; and also that pain should not be penally inflicted, unless guilt has been incurred by voluntary transgression. The force of these sentiments appears to have been felt by our author; he therefore labors hard to accommodate his system to them. The former stands opposed to his sweeping overthrow in hopeless ruin of an unborn race, for the sins of one whom they could nowise control. To escape this difficulty, he resorts to the absurdity of pretending an absolute moral unity of the human race; as if all the individuals of the race of Adam were so present with him in Paradise as to be responsible participants of his volitions and actions, and therefore that they are justly condemned with him. It is indeed wonderful that such absurdity should find a moment's favor in any rational mind. We pity the blind credulity of the Papist, who can do such violence to his *senses* as to believe that matter, having all the sensible properties of bread, is really flesh and blood; how much more should we commiserate that perversity of intellect which can lead one to believe, against the more authoritative demonstrations of *consciousness*, that he held a responsible relation long before he had a personal existence! And who is not con-

scious of no participation in Adam's sin? If, then, none of Adam's posterity was so present in his first transgression as to be cognizant of it and to have control over it, we see not how they can be held responsible for it. That all were present in some sense we allow, though not in such a one as to render them liable to eternal death for anything that could occur there. All were there *seminally*; but this is almost no presence at all, for it is an exceedingly strong figure that can find an oak in an acorn, or millions of individuals in the loins of one man. We also admit that all Adam's family were present by representation. For he, as the head of our race, was the depositary of certain good things which belonged to him less in his individual character than as head of the race. When by sin he lost the public property in his care, he lost it for all as well as for himself. But among the things of which he was the depositary as the head of the family of man, was *not* the eternal *personal* welfare of any one. "As we sinned *seminally* in Adam, if God had not intended our redemption, his goodness would have engaged him to destroy us *seminally*, by crushing the capital offender who contained us all: so there would have been a just proportion between the sin and punishment; for as we sinned in Adam without the least consciousness of guilt, so in him we should have been punished without the least consciousness of pain."—*Fletcher*.

That there are social and relative responsibilities among men we do not deny; indeed, they are matters of daily experience. We also admit that legal guilt (liability to pain occasioned by sin) is by God imputed to others than those whose actions were the occasions of such guilt. On what principle of divine jurisprudence this is done does not particularly concern us; the truth we consider ultimate, and in theology, as elsewhere, ultimate truths limit investigation. But while we admit so plain a truth, we may not so extend and apply it as to infract truths equally clearly proved, and to dishonor the name of God. There are, unquestionably, both social and individual responsibilities resting upon all. The two may coexist in perfect harmony. To our dim sight there may seem to be danger of collisions, but we are assured that a powerful and skillful hand is governing the whole machinery. He is too strong to be thwarted in his purposes, "too wise to err, and too good to be unkind." We are not at liberty to suppose that the evils entailed by the sins of the fathers upon the children are strictly and purely penal. Only in a greatly modified sense may such pains be called penalties, and their occasions in the sufferers, guilt. Indeed, we may not suppose that any of the ills that befall



those who are within the reach of recovering mercy are strictly punitive in their purposes ; and we hesitate not to believe, that in the strong sense which inevitably exposes to eternal death, no person is rendered guilty by another's act.

The great fault of that school of divinity which Dr. Junkin would revive, consists in so extending Adam's federal character as to swallow up the individual rights and responsibilities of his posterity. Speaking of the extent of the first "covenant," he says :—

"There is nothing to limit and bound the covenant with Adam . . . but the will of the parties. If God so willed it, and Adam so agreed to it, that he should act for all human persons—should represent the race—then so it was, and so the effects must be. The moral body is one. The head and the members go together ; their destinies are the same."—P. 56.

As to the will of the party of the second part, (Adam,) we have shown (what was well known before) that it had nothing to do in establishing the "covenant ;" for when he became a living soul he found the covenant or law in full force upon him. That the divine will is the measure and limit of his own decrees is not disputed ; but it should be remembered that the will of God is no mere caprice, but the eternal law of righteousness. He can ordain only what is right. As to the oneness of the moral body, and the consequent identity of the head and members, we dissent from the premise till proved, and therefore cannot be expected to assent to the conclusion. Here, then, is the proof :—

"All the race of Adam suffer. This is a moral effect, and must have a moral cause. For in the government of a perfectly holy being, the sufferings of holy beings unconnected with sin is an impossibility. The human mind is so constructed that it cannot believe God would impose pain and anguish where there is no sin. . . . The moral sense of all men would revolt at such an idea. What ! shall men suffer who have never sinned ?"—Pp. 57, 58.

The existence of suffering and death may indeed be viewed as lasting mementoes of the truth that sin is in the world ; not, however, that the latter is necessarily implied by the former, but because the Bible tells us that death entered into the world by sin. But we cannot agree with our author, that it is impossible to suppose there should be suffering unconnected with sin. Man knows too little of the inscrutable nature of the Almighty to determine, in every case, what is and what is not impossible with him. And if our own individual understanding is a specimen of the human mind, it is not constitutionally impossible "to suppose that God would impose pain where there is no sin." We are not sure

that this is not perfectly consistent with the divine perfections, and in full course of operation among other orders of creatures, preparing them by temporary suffering for the enjoyment of eternal felicity. Indeed, the state of Adam in the garden seems to have partaken somewhat of that character, since he *suffered* temptation and had a *trial* of his virtue. But the human mind does strongly revolt at the idea of infinite and endless pain, inflicted for sins over which the sufferer had not the least control, and in which he had no personal participation. It would be much better to take the truth that the Bible gives us, without additions of our own, and especially without attempting to determine what God can do and what he cannot, further than he has expressly declared. This whole labor to show that "Adam's sin is justly imputed to his posterity" is a work of supererogation. The divine administration needs no such apology. God has not only done all things well, but has also manifested the righteousness of his dispensations. He permitted our fallen first parents to propagate a fallen progeny. The sins of the parents thus became the occasion of sufferings in their descendants; but to assume that such sufferings are properly and finally punitive, or such as it would have been impossible for God to inflict irrespective of such relations, is worse than gratuitous. The doctrine of original sin is an integral portion of revealed truth; but when seen as it is exhibited in some systems of theology, it will always be liable to the objection of seeming to impugn the divine goodness; such is the impression it always makes on unprejudiced minds. "This objection, however, springs from regarding the legal part of the whole transaction, which affected our first parents and their posterity, separately from the evangelical provisions of mercy which were concurrent with it, and which included, in like manner, both them and their whole race." "The redemption of man by Christ was not certainly an after thought, brought in upon man's apostasy; it was a provision, and when man fell he found justice hand in hand with mercy."—*Watson*. By thus contemplating the fall in view of the atonement, and remembering that the same glorious sovereign appointed both the former and latter dispensations, the ways of God are justified, and his throne established in righteousness.

Thus far we have examined only the fundamental part of the system of our author; but we have dwelt the longer here, because of the importance of first principles. Our purpose has been to show that no such "covenant" ever existed as is set forth as the basis of the system of theology we are opposing,—that the eternal destiny of no one of the family of man was ever absolutely intrusted

to any other, and therefore that the sentence of eternal death cannot be justly pronounced against any one except for sins voluntarily committed, by persons having power to do otherwise. If in this we have succeeded—have shaken the foundation of the hypothesis of justification by the active obedience of Christ imputed to us for righteousness—we shall now find it comparatively easy to disprove the details of the system.

The atonement is the most wonderful of the divine dispensations. All its features display the ineffable glory of its Author. Passing by any contemplations of the love therein manifested, and the attributes of God thereby revealed, we will only consider the rule of righteousness upon which this great work proceeds. Its purpose is to redeem mankind from the curse of sin, viewed in its provisions as already committed. Redemption necessarily implies substitution and vicarious merit, without which it must have been true, without exception or qualification, that the soul that sins must die. The law by which man was condemned, and from whose curse he was to be redeemed, was no other than the holy and immutable decree of the Almighty, which could neither be evaded nor successfully resisted. That law was broken by Adam and by the millions of his race; a greater than Adam was therefore required to bring salvation to a fallen world. To meet this requisition, the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us—a divine Redeemer was given to the world. There also appears to be a fitness in the Redeemer's holding such natural relations to the subjects of his redemption, as to place the parties within the sphere of each other's legal influence. We may therefore suppose that it was not consistent with the economy of divine grace, that any other than one of the human family should fill the office occupied by the humanity of our blessed Redeemer. He was made of a woman—made under [the curse of] the law; he took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham. Divinity in an angelic impersonation would not have presented that evident fitness for the work intended that is seen in God manifested in the flesh. Still, it does not appear that his official relations to mankind were the necessary result of the assumption of our nature. The Father anointed him for the office of Redeemer, for which our nature was a part of the necessary furniture. So far we may trace the principles of action in the divine administration; all beyond is clouds and darkness.

As Adam sustained a twofold relation to the law of God—an official and an individual one—so also did Christ. Hence his proper humanity is prominently and expressly set forth; for if he was really man, he was liable to all the necessary accidents of humanity



—its relations and obligations. As a creature, he was individually subject to the divine law; unless a portion of the creation is beyond the dominion of the Creator. To us this position appears unquestionable; but if true it is fatal to the doctrine now under review, and accordingly it is strongly opposed by our author. We will give his statements at length.

“1. Christ never existed, in his mediatorial character, except as a federal head. His moral headship existed by covenant from eternity, and the susception of our nature was the result, and constituted part and parcel of the covenant itself. Now if the God-man—the Messiah—never existed in any other character, he could never be bound by any other.”—P. 195.

The fallacy of this argument consists in assuming that an individual obligation may not coexist with an official one. This may be made plain by an illustration. Suppose the case of a child, the posthumous heir to a kingdom; from the moment of his birth he is a king—he never existed except as a sovereign. But he is not therefore freed from the private obligations of justice and benevolence. So our Lord was at once a man and the Redeemer of men; it therefore became him to fulfil the duties of both relations. Accordingly, we find him submitting to all the ordinances of society, both civil and religious, commending himself to the approval of men and growing in favor with God. And as he was always well beloved of God, this increased favor must have been the effect of his obedience, whereby he was justified before God.

“2. Another phase of the same thought is, that the human nature of Christ never had a separate existence—it never was a human person; and therefore a righteousness for its sake could not be necessary.”—*Ibid.*

All this is only a play upon the word *person*. Doubtless he will acknowledge the perfect humanity of our Lord, and that the union of natures in him was their proper concurrence in his person, and not their coalescence or confusion. If so, both natures must have moral properties, and of necessity our Lord's humanity had the property of human righteousness.

“3. The Messiah is a divine person, and to talk of a divine person being bound to procure righteousness as a title for himself to eternal life, is, at the very least, to approximate blasphemy.”—*Ibid.*

This objection, when compared with the preceding, appears very much like an attempt at evasion by an ambiguous use of terms. We are now contemplating the Messiah only in his incarnation. That he had a personal pre-existence we are not disposed to doubt; but that does not affect this case. In his incarnation, by which he

became our Redeemer, he is not exclusively a divine being—nor is he less really a human than divine person. We hold, as the ancient church decided against opposing heresies, the *hypostatical union* of the human and divine natures, really and properly, in the person of the Messiah, and therefore that all the properties of each were essential to the perfection of his character. As God, he was holy with divine holiness : as man, he was wholly righteous. This whole objection, being founded in error, falls with the baseless hypothesis on which it is built. While, however, we contend that our Lord's personal righteousness was not vicarious, we are far from supposing that it was not concerned in his mediatorial office. His personal justification by obedience was necessary, that the law should have no further demands on him when he came to offer himself "a Lamb without spot unto God," for the sins of the world. It was requisite that he should be pure and holy when officiating as high priest for us, "for such a high priest became us who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners." We are then deeply interested in the personal righteousness of our Redeemer, though not by any direct transfer of its merits to us ; and so it is not altogether improper to associate his obedience and death when speaking of the work of atonement, though we should be careful not so to connect them as to make them appear to hold the same relation to the work of redemption.

It appears, therefore, that Christ's active obedience was properly his own and for himself, and therefore cannot constitute a fund of merits for others : we might extend this argument, by showing that Scripture gives no direct or indirect intimations that the divine economy anywhere admits of vicarious *active* obedience ; but we must proceed to other particulars.

The great purpose for which Christ came into the world was to redeem man by suffering in his stead. In becoming man he became subject to all the natural effects of the fall. The relation which he assumed to our race was such as, under the divine appointment, to permit to meet on him the iniquity of us all. He was made under the law, which was not simply demanding of him obedience as its subject, but also death as man's representative. The original covenant had failed by reason of man's noncompliance with its terms, and therefore justification by that dispensation was impossible. The law had required obedience, which had not been rendered ; it now required vengeance, and in this demand would not be turned away. In all moral governments, one of two alternatives is required of every subject—obedience or penalty—one of which must be rendered. In either case the provisions of the law are

secured—the law fulfilled; not, however, in the latter case, in its specific precepts, but in its authority and final demands. Our Lord's purpose was not to undo what man had done, (for that was in the nature of things impossible,) but to save him from the proper consequences of his disobedience,—to redeem him from the *curse* of the law, the only alternative that now remained to him. The law did not then require obedience of man as to the sins he had committed; vengeance alone was called for. In becoming man's Redeemer, therefore, Christ came *to die*. On this point the Scriptures are very full and explicit, so much so as to render any particular quotations unnecessary to prove this position. The purpose of his death is shown with equal clearness to be "*for us*," "*in our stead*," "*the just for the unjust, to bring us to God*." Here we might rest the cause, having shown that the word of God does not teach a redemption by obedience, but does one effected by suffering; but we will make room for Dr. Junkin's own statement of the hypothesis of double redemption. After showing that man is under obligation to render universal obedience to God, and that the first act of transgression both rendered him guilty and unfitted him for future obedience, his obligation continuing unchanged, he proceeds:—

"Consequently the penal obligation is additional to Adam. And if he could have been justified by the covenant before its violation only by its positive fulfilment—by working righteousness—he can afterward be justified only by working righteousness and exhausting the whole curse of the law—satisfying its penal claims. These two things are indispensable to Adam's obtaining life by the covenant—he must exhibit a righteousness as long and as broad as the law, and he must endure the wrath of God."—P. 93.

This presents the theory as to the occasion or necessity of redemption by Christ's keeping the law for us—the theory of imputation. We will next give his views on the contested point whether justification is identical with remission of sin. Having set forth the death of Christ as the procuring cause of pardon, he adds:—

"Now we ought to distinguish between this [*viz.*, pardon] and justification. I know indeed great efforts have been made to confound them, and great success has attended these efforts. But I know that just in the same proportion have indistinct and often erroneous views been entertained—views which, if run out to their legitimate results, land in ruin. Therefore I the more insist that *pardon is not justification*. It is an accompaniment of it in man's condition, but it is not the thing itself. To declare a man innocent, as we have seen, is a different thing from declaring him righteous. A mere negative virtue is no virtue at all."—P. 310.



Reserving for the present any criticisms on this strange language, we will immediately subjoin the counterpart of the above-stated doctrine, that the parts may appear in due juxtaposition:—

“The setting down or reckoning of Christ’s righteousness, all his acts of obedience to the law, to the account of the believer, is the precise matter of justification. The righteousness of Christ is the believer’s in the book of God. *He is righteous in the law’s eye.* The judge perceives the fact, and declares it so to be. This declaration is the precise thing meant by justification. It is the judicial and declarative act which results by an inevitable necessity existing in the nature of law and of justice, and in the facts of the case.”—P. 310.

Here then we have the whole system. The law requires righteousness, both negative and positive, of which man has neither. To atone for the want of the former, which is properly guilt, Christ suffered on the cross; to supply his deficiency of the latter, Christ kept the law for him; so that by transferring the merits of his sufferings and obedience to us, we are justified “*in the eye of the law.*” The hypothesis is an ingenious one, but it “savors not of the things that are of God, but of men.” Its completeness as a theory would commend it to favor, were it not repugnant to the teachings of the Bible. That it is unscriptural, we will now briefly show.

In the first place, there is no Scripture with which to prove the above-assumed doctrine. “The sacred writers do not once state that the active obedience of Christ is imputed to a sinner for justification. A man may assume this doctrine of imputation, and use it as a key to unlock the Scriptures, while to those who grant his assumption he may seem to confirm his favorite hypothesis by a peculiar interpretation of many passages of holy writ, the meaning of which is first rendered doubtful by the hypothesis; but this is to suppose at the outset that the truth of the doctrine is incontrovertible. It is to model the Scriptures by our own fancy, and to make the sacred writers into awkward commentators on the erroneous opinions of fallible men. Let a passage first be found in which an inspired writer declares in plain terms that the active obedience of Christ, as distinct from his sufferings and death, is imputed for justification, and that passage may be used as a legitimate key to open the Scriptures generally. But such a key must be forged in the human imagination, for it cannot be found in the sacred cabinet.”—*Hare on Justification.*

The entire silence of the Scriptures as to this notion of imputation contrasts strongly with their fullness and explicitness in stating the doctrine of justification through the merits of Christ’s passive

obedience, and affords a strong inference in favor of the exclusive claim of the latter to a place as the meritorious cause of our acceptance with God. Space would fail us even to refer to all the places where the sufferings and death of Christ are plainly recognized as the ground of hope to fallen man. Our redemption is in his *blood*—we are *healed* by his *stripes*; his *life* is our ransom; he bare *our sins* on the *tree*; our glory is in his *cross*. When faith is to be excited, the same idea is presented and urged upon us; we are pointed to Christ as the *Lamb* of God—assured that he is set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his *blood*—that we come to the *blood of sprinkling*. Death is everywhere presented as the price of redemption. We are also assured that Christ's death is accepted of God as a perfect satisfaction for sin; such is the proper import of such terms as "atonement," "propitiation," and others of equivalent meaning; expressing a state of reconciliation and *positive* favor, flowing from the death and mediation of Christ. But the whole subject in controversy turns upon the correctness or incorrectness of one short sentence contained in the foregoing extracts from the work under review, to wit: "pardon is not justification." He has good cause to say that strong and successful efforts have been made, not to "confound," but to identify the sense of these terms; and this has been done nowhere else so strongly and successfully as in the Bible. There we hear of one who, when he prayed, "Be *merciful* to me, a sinner!" "went down to his house justified,"—the prayer for *pardon* being answered by the gift of *justification*. When the apostles preached forgiveness of sins through Christ, they did so assuring their hearers that "by him all that believe are justified," still keeping up their Master's confusion of ideas. But the masterpiece of confusion is the joint product of two of the greatest names in Scripture. David, in attempting to set forth the blessedness of the true believer, "confounds" in one chaos *pardon*, *the covering of sin*, and *the non-imputation of sin*; and St. Paul, in taking up his expression, adds the *imputation of righteousness* to the heap. Now if this is confusion at all, it is certainly successful confusion. But if we grant, as is plainly implied, that all these expressions are substantially identical, order at once rises out of the chaos. This is the key that unlocks the sacred oracles—the thread that guides us through the otherwise traceless labyrinth of the Scriptures. But the positive assertion that "to declare a man innocent is a different thing from declaring him righteous," is most palpably erroneous. It should be remembered that the language here used is wholly forensic, and all the imagery that of a legal tribunal. Now law

recognizes but two conditions, guilty and not guilty. All who "in the eye of the law" are not guilty, are righteous; whom the judge pronounces innocent, he by the same act justifies. No truth can be plainer than this, and yet this plain truth is directly opposed to the notion of the distinction of pardon and justification.

It is no valid objection to our view of this subject to say that Christ's death redeemed us only from the curse of sin, and therefore we have no pledge or provision for the positive blessings of salvation except in his active obedience; for we do not hesitate to commit our souls to our heavenly Father, now reconciled by the blood of the cross, being assured that "he that spared not his own Son, but gave him for us all, will with him *freely* give us all things." We are satisfied to receive heaven as a gratuity, not claiming it as a debt even from the Father. We have no taste for glorifying the Son at the expense of the Father; nor dare we, in order to magnify the free grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, consent to dim the benignant glories of the eternal Godhead, causing him to appear toward some penurious of the grace he bestows, and toward others an inexorable and an implacable tyrant. His grace is always free. When his own law opposed his gracious purposes, he provided an offering commensurate with its claims, which being satisfied, there is nothing to hinder the free ingress of the divine grace, which flows spontaneously from the throne of the Father. "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God," which peace is of the very essence of the kingdom of heaven within us.

But we have a still more formidable objection to this theory of justification. It is not only built upon an unsound basis, but the thing itself is not genuine. It is not the justification of the gospel. According to it, the only difference between the first and second covenant consisted in a transfer of the representative office from Adam to Christ, the terms and conditions in both being otherwise identical.

Our author openly assumes this position, and insists that man must be justified by the terms of the covenant—that "the original institute must be preserved inviolate." These terms are, "Do this and live"—keep the commandment, and receive the benedictions of the judge. But if vicarious obedience were among the duties of our representative, whether that were rendered by the first or the second Adam, in either case, justification is secured "by the deeds of the law." The first requirement of the law being rendered, the subject is justified *as righteous*. But this very righteousness of the law is by St. Paul opposed to the righteousness of faith, and that apostle expressly declares that by it shall no flesh



be justified in God's sight. The justification of the gospel does not suppose the law fulfilled by any one, as to its precepts, but the justified person is always contemplated as having failed to keep the law. It is not the acquittal and approval of the guiltless, but pardon to the guilty and gracious acceptance to the ungodly. "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith, *without the deeds of the law.*"

It is remarkable, that by departing from the truth in opposite directions, the doctors of the Council of Trent and those of the Synod of Dort meet at the same point in the regions of error. A Papist could not desire more appropriate language to express his notions of justification than is afforded in this work. A recent writer is greatly censured, and his orthodoxy called in question, for alledging that "obedience in deed and word alone can constitute our justification;" but Dr. Junkin declares the same in substance in repeated instances. The same writer declares, "Our justification is a reality;" Dr. J. replies, "Before God can justify a man, he must be just indeed." The point of difference between the two systems rather gives the advantage to the Papal scheme; for that teaches, that by the power of the Holy Ghost a man is first constituted righteous, and then accepted as such; while the other holds that he is accounted just indeed, though in fact he is unjust, by the transfer to him of the merits of the righteousness of another. The one supposes, as the ground of acceptance with God, a state never known except as a consequence of acceptance; the other bases justification upon the incommunicable qualities of a second person, the justified being reckoned righteous when really unrighteous. We repeat it, this is not the justification of the New Testament. St. Paul knew nothing of it, and St. James only knew it to condemn it. If Christ fulfilled the law for us, and presents his righteousness to its demands as the basis of our justification, then are we justified by the deeds of the law, no less than if it were our own personal obedience and righteousness by which we are justified. We shall therefore continue to believe that the gospel is a new covenant, and that it is properly called the covenant of grace, from its peculiarly gracious provisions. It originated in the spontaneous benevolence of the Father of mercies; its fundamental provision is the death of Christ, whose expiatory offering is therefore styled the blood of the new covenant. Its direct and immediate fruit, when embraced in faith, is pardon of sin, and consequently acceptance with God. The sin canceled by this pardon is not this or that, or any number of specific transgressions, but all inward and outward unholiness. And as pardon wholly removes

the guilt of sin, its moral defilement is brought under the dominion of that God who loves purity ; to the exercise of whose sin-destroying power there is no longer any barrier, when the divine law is satisfied and the rebellion of the heart destroyed. To efface the stains of sin when its legal guilt is removed is the proper office of the Holy Ghost dwelling in the believer ; and the soul thus sanctified, the temple of God on earth, is prepared for the glory of God above.

Having briefly reviewed our author's theory of justification, and attempted to show cause for disallowing its claims to divine authority, we will now notice some of its consequences and implied doctrines. Among these may be mentioned its necessary implication of the doctrine of irresistible decrees. If the members of the federative body were so subjected to the head that his acts determined their destinies, then their fate for eternity is unchangeably fixed while they are yet unborn, and have done neither good nor evil. If Christ not only, by his death, made it possible that God should justify the unrighteous persons who should believe in him, but also by his active righteousness wrought out a justification for his elect, then they have an infallible assurance of salvation ; and we must suppose, either that God will bind their volitions by irresistible influences, so that they cannot sin, or else, although he permits them to sin, their sins shall not endanger their salvation. That is fixed by an immutable decree, and they must approach it with the certainty of fate. Take either horn of the dilemma, and unbridled license is the result. Fatalism was at the foundation of Epicurean licentiousness, and everywhere its fruits must be the same. The notion of finished salvation, and the *harmlessness* of sin in believers, is the source of criminal carelessness among professed Christians. The tendency of such notions is necessarily to diminish our abhorrence of sin and our dread of its consequences ; if God makes no account of it, why should we ? doubtless it is a matter of small account. When we cease to dread sin, our depraved hearts will soon be found contemplating it with complacency, until we are drawn into its allurements and engaged in its commission, the mean time fondly thinking all is well. Some find in the sins of believers the greatest honors for Christ, since they illustrate the greatness of his saving power ; others, jealous of their Lord's glory, will not presume to patch up the glorious garment of his perfect righteousness with their own filthy rags, and therefore take no pains to be righteous at all. Some find sin an excellent means of grace, since it shows them their utter need of a Saviour ; while multitudes, without any definite theory of the matter, having learned

that sin would not endanger their eternal welfare, impelled by depraved appetites, rush heedlessly into all manner of abominations. This is no fancy sketch—would to God it were only the deductions of a theological hypothesis! The history of the church is a gloomy demonstration of the truth of these positions. Nor have we to go to past ages or to distant countries for illustrations of the evils we deprecate; even here, where we now write, we are in the midst of the ravages of the demon of Antinomianism. The unlearned and unsophisticated, having been taught the elements of the system of justification by imputation of Christ's active righteousness, have run out the premises to their legitimate conclusions, and find no occasion to *strive* for righteousness when they are righteous in Christ, or to *work* for a salvation which was finished before they were born. So they argue, and so they act; we admire their logic, though we deprecate its influence; but we detest a system pretending to be the gospel of the Son of God, which leads to such consequences. Many, we rejoice to know, who hold the premises, by a happy inconsistency, hesitate at the conclusion. Such are consistent Christians, though inconsistent theologians.

Another inference from this doctrine, coupled as it must be with the notion of partial atonement, is, that a portion of those who die in infancy are damned for Adam's sin. This inference is very obvious, though many have tried to avoid it. But if the idea of unconditional reprobation is admitted, (and it seems a necessary counterpart of that of unconditional election,) it does not appear why it should not include infants as well as adults. If God creates to damn, why should he not send some of the doomed spirits from cradled infancy, as well as preserve others, as for the day of slaughter, until they have become susceptible of more intense sufferings, and then plunge them into fires kindled for them before they had a being, and to which they were born, as to a certain inheritance? Our author mystifies greatly upon this point; evidently he finds it a hard case. He perceives the necessary tendency of his system, but fears to allow it, and so goes around and about the subject rather oddly. His remarks on this subject deserve a place among the curiosities of literature rather than in a grave theological treatise. He treats his readers to a whole chapter entitled "Original Sin—proved by the Salvation of those who die in Infancy." Here he assumes the fact of the salvation of infants as so far conceded as to be proper matter for proof of the less obvious doctrine of original sin. Accordingly the first section of this chapter is headed, "Infants go to Heaven." But let no one suppose that he devotes a section to state, prove, and illustrate that position:



he only labors to show that though this *may be true*, because Scripture does not expressly deny it, still it is not taught in the Bible. His succeeding propositions are, that "only sinners are saved;" and "infants are sinners;" and therefore, if saved, they are saved "through Jesus Christ." This leaves the salvation of dying infants to rest on the simple fact that they are sinners; but we have been assured very plainly that there is not salvation for all sinners, and therefore probably some of those who die in infancy may be among the non-elect. The drift of his argument, so far as it has any fixed course, is about this: those who die in infancy *may be saved*, probably *some are*, but the balance of evidence is that *most are not*. But believing parents may console themselves with the hope, founded, however, rather on paternal fondness than any well-grounded evidence, that their departed little ones are among the favored few. O what a foundation for the hopes of eternity! Even the tender mercies of this system of faith are cruel.

There are many other things in the book that present prominent points for criticism and animadversion; but as they must stand or fall with the system of which they are part, we pass them in silence, and hasten to close this article. We have evidently had to deal with an inveterate predestinarian; his theory of justification implies it; and though he winces a little at some of its details, he generally appears to relish it. We trust he is a better Christian than either theologian or logician. He is unquestionably the victim of his own prejudices—otherwise he must be esteemed guilty of wilful misrepresentation. Not content to couple Arminianism with semi-Pelagianism, as though identical, he specifically charges upon the former tenets which, had his gangrened vision permitted him to see the truth, he would have known to be no part of that system. But for his blinding prejudices, he would not have had the hardihood to traduce Arminianism, by setting forth as a tenet of it, that "they who convert themselves by free will are saved, the rest perish." But it would not have done to set forth that system of doctrine in a true light, since the fitness of its parts and the excellence of the whole would have commended it to universal favor. A caricature was needed; and in preparing one he copied the distorted image found in his own imagination. But it is a small matter for the friends of that doctrine to hear it spoken against. It was so from the first; and amidst all it has spread itself until it fills the land, while the opposite error flees before it, as shadows at the rising of the sun. Calvinism proper has seen its day; the recent efforts to revive it prove it dead beyond recovery; a fitful and spasmodic action is all that can be effected by the united efforts

of a host of Old School divines ; while the course of truth is steadily and triumphantly onward. Only let the ministers of the whole gospel be faithful to their high responsibilities—avoiding subtilties and vain philosophy, let them preach the Lamb of God, and glory only in the cross—and no weapon formed against them shall prosper. Let them seek no other philosophical theory of the gospel than that given by the apostle, to wit: “that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their transgressions, but forgiving their iniquities.” Let the gospel appear in its native simplicity, and it will always prove itself to be the power of God unto salvation to every one that believes.

*Columbus, Ga., April 10, 1844.*

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ART. II.—*Elements of Algebra, embracing also the Theory and Application of Logarithms, together with an Appendix, containing Infinite Series, the General Theory of Equations, and several of the most approved Methods of solving the higher Equations.* By REV. DAVIS W. CLARK, A. M. Harper & Brothers. 1843.

So many elementary books of instruction, especially on mathematics, have of late made their appearance, that the announcement of a new work has ceased to excite much interest, nor is it considered as an object of sufficient importance to demand much care in examining its merits. But as our attention was called to the work before us, we were led to consider it as deservedly an exception to the general rule. Although we have a multiplicity of books on every branch of science, and certainly a sufficient number of algebras, yet it seems to be the general opinion of experienced teachers, that a text-book in this science, properly prepared and well adapted to the wants of students, is still needed ; and we know of no work that appears so well calculated to supply this desideratum as this book. With a brief notice of this work we have thought it might be well to connect a short account of the history and object of the science.

The early history of mathematical science, perhaps more than most others, is involved in doubt and obscurity, through which no diligence of research can penetrate. It is perhaps impossible at the present time to determine at what period the more important branches of it, such as arithmetic and algebra, were first introduced, or to whom the world is indebted for so useful an invention.

The abstract nature of such sciences must for a long time have retarded their progress. Some method for denoting quantity must have been originated with the first ideas of property; but it is only in the more advanced state of society, when the intercourse of man with man is frequent, when commercial transactions are multiplied and extended, that the necessity of simplifying and improving the methods of calculation is felt. In the earlier ages of its history it is not probable that the science of calculation was extended beyond the immediate wants of society. It has been affirmed that many tribes of savages are not only ignorant of the operations of arithmetic, but almost totally unacquainted with the first principles of numeration. Some of them cannot reckon further than three, and have no denomination for any number above this. Several can proceed as far as ten, others to twenty: when they would convey an idea of a number beyond these, they point to the hairs of their heads, intimating that it is equal to them, or with wonder declare it to be so great that it cannot be numbered. In short, the state of mathematical science among a people offers a kind of standard for estimating the degree of their intellectual improvement.\*

Josephus maintains that Abraham was the inventor of arithmetic, and that his descendants communicated the knowledge of numbers to the Egyptians. But little credit will perhaps be given to this assertion, prompted doubtless by national partiality. There is strong evidence that the Greeks, at least, copied both their alphabet and method of notation from the Hebrews. The first knowledge of mathematical science was of course embraced in some of the simpler principles of arithmetic. When these were understood, other and higher principles of computation were discovered and applied, and thus by slow, perhaps imperceptible steps, men were led to the discovery and use of those more intricate principles and methods of analysis and calculation now embraced in algebra. Algebra is very closely connected with arithmetic in its history and in its design. Both are employed in reasoning concerning the relations which subsist among different quantities in respect to their magnitudes. In both sciences the quantities treated of are expressed by symbols. In arithmetic there are the ten numeral characters, while in algebra they may be any characters whatever: the letters of the alphabet are, however, at present always used, denoting not only the known quantities, to which alone numerical notation will apply, but also the unknown quantities, or such as are required to be found. The two sciences thus agreeing in the objects of which

\* Robertson's *History of America*, vol. i, p. 150. Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*, p. 136.



they treat, and to a certain extent in their reasonings, of course depend on the same first principles. Algebra has indeed been denominated *universal arithmetic*; a name in many respects proper enough, but which does not fully express its character. The essential character of algebra may be considered as consisting in this—"That when all the quantities concerned in any inquiry to which it is applied are denoted by general symbols, the results of its operations do not, like those of arithmetic and geometry, give the individual values of the quantities sought, but only show what are the arithmetical or geometrical operations which ought to be performed on the original given quantities in order to determine their values."

The early history of algebra, like that of arithmetic, is involved in much obscurity. The question relative to its origin has been the cause of much speculation among the learned. The Greeks were undoubtedly the first nation among whom the science attained any degree of perfection. Diophantus has been considered as the earliest known writer on algebra. His work was a collection of problems, for which he gave many ingenious solutions; but it contained no general principles, no methods of analysis, that might be applied to problems generally. There are, however, so many principles contained in his work, as to render it altogether improbable that they had their origin entirely with him. The science of algebra was not at first in Europe derived from Diophantus, but from the Arabians and Moors. They, by unanimous avowal, derived the first principles of their knowledge from India. There is good reason to believe that the Indians were in possession of it at the time of Pythagoras, and that through him the Greeks obtained their first ideas in relation to it. The earliest Indian writer on algebra of whom there remains any certain or traditional knowledge is the astronomer Aryabhatta, who was in possession of a general artifice for the resolution of all indeterminate problems of the first degree, and also of a method of resolving equations containing several unknown quantities. Of both these last methods Diophantus seems to have been ignorant. The *Brahma-sidd'hanta*, the work of Brahmegupta, an Indian astronomer at the beginning of the seventh century, contains a general method for the resolution of indeterminate problems of the second degree; an investigation that baffled the skill of every modern analyst previous to the time of La Grange. The Greeks cannot be considered as the authors of this discovery; and years of patient thought and many successive efforts of invention must have prepared the way for it in the country where it did originate. All that we now pos-

sess of Indian science is but a part, perhaps, of a great system, that existed at a very remote period, perhaps previous to the first dawn of science among the Greeks.

Many have considered the Arabs as the authors of algebra; but more recent investigations, and the facts to which we have referred, show that this idea is entirely without foundation. From them, however, it was introduced into Europe, early in the fifteenth century, by Camellus Leonard of Pisa. The first printed work on algebra appeared in 1494. This exhibited the science in a rude state, consisting merely of rules for raising numbers to powers and the resolution of simple and quadratic equations. The Indian algebra had quite an extensive symbolic notation, while algebra as introduced into Europe was almost entirely destitute of it. Our present system of notation has arisen by almost insensible degrees, as convenience suggested different marks of abbreviation to different authors; and that perfect system of symbolic language, addressing itself solely to the eye, and enabling us to take in at a glance the most complicated relations of quantity, is the result of a series of small improvements made from time to time; while in no case, at least till within a very short time from the present period, has any general and systematic view of the nature of symbols directed the choice of new ones.

Many important discoveries were made in algebra by the Italians, several of which are owing to singular circumstances. The endless disputes relative to the claims of different inventors seem to be in a great measure owing to the custom in those days for mathematicians to conceal their discoveries, to secure an advantage over their rivals in proposing problems beyond their reach. But when an author failed in this way to humble his opponent, on account of some unexpected invention on his part, the charge of plagiarism was ever ready to soothe wounded vanity and chagrin at disappointment.

If the more distinguished authors were governed by sufficiently noble motives to enable them to acquiesce in the well-earned fame of their rivals, there were always inferior writers who, masking their malignity under the specious semblance of national partiality, were ever ready to continue the dispute, advancing the charge of plagiarism in the most aggravated and disgusting manner. From these disputes, and the trials of skill that often resulted from them, the science of algebra was greatly advanced. One illustration of this we will mention. Ferrea having proposed in defiance some problems to Tartalea, he applied himself to discover the solution, and succeeded. This he revealed in confidence to Cardan, bind-

ing him to secrecy by the most solemn oaths. This fact will give us some idea of the care used in that age by scientific men to prevent their discoveries from being generally known. Cardan, however, made no scruple of immediately violating his oath; not only this, but having made himself master of the solution, and extended it somewhat, he most ungenerously set up a claim to it as his own. This unlooked-for result aroused, as might be expected, the anger of Tartalea; a violent dispute and a kind of mathematical duel were the consequences. Innumerable were the problems proposed and resolved on both sides. This dispute, while it brought little else than chagrin to the parties, ended in the permanent improvement of science. Louis Ferrari, a friend and pupil of Cardan, coming to his assistance, as his first exploit, discovered the general resolution of the biquadratic equation by a very elegant process. Several improvements, such as the use of the letters of the alphabet to denote general or indefinite quantities, and a better understanding of the nature of surds, may be dated from this dispute.

But it is not our purpose to trace minutely the history of this branch of science, nor to specify the various circumstances that may have advanced or retarded its progress. To the admirers of any science it is interesting to trace the successive steps and the slow progress by which the various improvements and inventions have succeeded each other. In point of interest, in this respect, mathematical science is hardly second to any other. But, omitting the further consideration of this part of the subject, we proceed to speak more particularly of our own times, and of the work at the head of this article.

Judging from the number of elementary and other mathematical books issued yearly from the press, we should infer that the people of the Northern States merit their common appellation of a *calculating* people, though perhaps in a better sense than it is usually applied to them. It is indeed almost frightful to the tyro in mathematics to contemplate the number of such books presented constantly to his attention. One thing, however, may cheer him,—there are not probably as many different principles as there are books presented. It is indeed amusing to examine many of these works, and observe how little is the difference that distinguishes them. They all contain nearly the same principles, in each somewhat differently arranged, the phraseology being likewise somewhat changed. Few new principles have lately been discovered. Mathematicians have chiefly employed themselves in simplifying and arranging the materials already furnished. Of the numerous



books on elementary mathematics, few receive much attention; the greater part are briefly noticed and then laid aside. It is often the case that a successful teacher introduces some little variation in the usual course of instruction, and is more than usually successful in teaching. In most cases this is owing to his being more interested in the subject himself, and consequently making greater efforts for the advancement of his pupils. Almost every able and experienced teacher could undoubtedly make a text-book that would answer his purpose better than any other in use. Such persons do not, however, always consider whether their plan of instruction, in the hands of another, would succeed better than many other plans already known. Under the impression that he has made a valuable discovery, an individual often hurriedly prepares a text-book, which is duly published and advertised. But as the book possesses no particular intrinsic merit, it is but by few noticed, and soon falling into disuse, in a few months nobody excepting those more immediately interested knows that such a book is in existence, while the author receives little else than vexation and disappointment for his trouble. So many books, especially on various branches of mathematics, have in this way been published, that the public have learned to regard with distrust any announcement of new works, or of any improvements in the sciences. This seriously retards the progress into public favor of books that would bear a critical examination, and which are in reality improvements on those that have preceded them. Notwithstanding numerous text-books have been issued that can hardly be considered as improvements, no one can deny but that in the science of algebra there has been a regular advance. The methods of instruction have become more thorough and accurate, the course of study more extensive, and far better text-books have been introduced, than the course of mathematics that, not many years ago, was so extensively used in the colleges and higher seminaries in New-England. Several of the books in most general use owe their success, we think, more to circumstances, to the reputation and high standing of the author, and the influence of his friends or interested patrons, than to their superior merit or adaptation to the wants of the public. No text-book on algebra has been received with more favor than the work of President Day. This has run through a great number of editions, and has been used (if we may judge from its use in the state of New-York) in most of the schools in the country. The ease and familiarity with which the subject is treated are undoubtedly strong recommendations for this work; but then it is sadly deficient as a *system* of algebra. There is, in fact, but little sys-

tem in it. For instance, the chapter on quadratics exhibits a most curious jumbling of matters distinct in their nature, and, in order to be thoroughly understood, requiring to be considered separately. Elimination is treated of in connection with equations of the second instead of the first degree. The work throughout is characterized by far too much diffuseness, and contains much unnecessary repetition. Several eminent professors of our higher institutions have within a few years published series of mathematical books. Whatever merit the higher parts of their series, with which in practice and in teaching they are more familiar, may possess, in the elementary parts, especially in algebra, they have very generally failed. Some of these works exhibit evidences of haste and carelessness little creditable to their authors. There are others that may perhaps be considered models of mathematical skill and neatness, general precision and accuracy, yet they are far too sententious and abstract for the purpose for which they were designed, being better adapted to *scholars* than to those that are to be made such. Many of the works now in use were translated from the French, or founded on translations already made. However well they may be calculated for the class of students for whom they were prepared in the country where they originated, they seem ill calculated for beginners in algebra, having only the amount of arithmetical knowledge usually considered in this country as a prerequisite for this study. Moreover, the reasoning used is often imperfect, and there is an obscurity in the statement of principles, and wide chasms, impassable to a beginner, at least, in the processes of reasoning. Such works, instead of being suited to train an undisciplined mind, require a mind to be under no ordinary degree of discipline at the outset. But it has well been said, that to require steady thought from a person who has not been trained to it, is one of the most unprofitable and dangerous requisitions that can be made in education.

“Full in the midst of Euclid dip at once,  
And petrify a genius to a dunce.”

Those who have undertaken to simplify the principles of algebra seem in a great measure to have failed. They either introduce their principles in an improper connection, not having prepared the student sufficiently by previous exercises, or they state them so obscurely as not to be comprehended. Their simplification consists merely in solving some few easy examples, explaining all the needless minutiae of the work. The student sees that the operations are as stated, but all the simplification does not reach the main point; the principle is not perceived in its general applica-

tion, nor is it understood ; hence he is no better prepared to solve the next example, especially when, as is often the case, the examples solved do not embrace half the difficulties in the principle to be illustrated. Nothing tends more to discourage a student than the perpetual recurrence of obstacles he cannot surmount. One great difficulty is to comprehend what is required by the principle that is to be applied. Great care should therefore be used in stating general principles clearly, and in illustrating one before proceeding to another. Were these principles carefully attended to, mathematical studies would possess far more interest for the majority of students than they now do. The only adequate incentive to laborious and profound study, the only source of interest that can safely be relied on to secure the attention of the young, is the clear perception of truth. After all possible difficulties resulting from the mode of treating the subject are removed, there will remain difficulties enough to task the mind of the most persevering student, in its varied general principles, in their application to particular cases, and in the abstract demonstrations of the more difficult parts of the science.

Considering the treatise of Mr. Clark with reference to the principles we have stated, and others that might be named, we have no hesitation in saying that in an uncommon degree it possesses all the requisites of a good text-book. We think it, indeed, superior to any other with which we are acquainted. The author, in his preface, informs us that the work was prepared while he was engaged in hearing daily recitations in the same science. It is in this way alone, we believe, that a book can be successfully prepared to meet the wants of the young. The author has evidently been a close observer, and appears to be well acquainted with the difficulties of young students. He exhibits not only an intimate and accurate knowledge of his subject, but sound judgment and great skill in the selection of his materials, and in their arrangement and adaptation to the wants and capacities of the class of students for which they are designed. Aware that most persons who commence the study of algebra have very little knowledge of mathematics, he has made the transition from arithmetic to algebra easy and natural. As the language and many of the signs of algebra are new to the beginner in the science, he has introduced the subject by giving a general outline of the nature and objects of the science, the leading definitions, &c. These are afterward repeated where the subject called for particular attention to them.

The work is modeled in the main after the system of M. Bourdon, now generally admitted to be the best large work extant. The



author has, however, studiously avoided the prolix theories of the French mathematician, and followed the more practical methods of the English mathematicians.

The scientific arrangement of the topics in this work is excellent. The illustrations and rules are stated with singular simplicity, clearness, and precision. This we consider as constituting one of the chief excellences of the work. General principles are fully stated and clearly illustrated. In some parts of his work the author has, perhaps, given more illustrations than are necessary, and too many hard problems. But all who have had experience in teaching this science are aware, doubtless, of the importance of the pupil's understanding thoroughly one general principle before proceeding to the next; and while a want of a sufficient number of problems would be a serious difficulty, if too many are given, a judicious teacher can select from the number such as will answer his purpose.

We cannot now speak of the several parts of the work particularly, but the clear and satisfactory manner in which the subject of equations, both simple and quadratic, is disposed of, cannot but be gratifying to the teacher who may use this book, and profitable to the student.

In running over the pages of this work, we were struck with what we do not recollect having seen elsewhere, namely, the law with regard to the exponent in division—*That the exponent of the divisor is to be subtracted*. A notice of this simple principle would have prevented Davies, as well as some others, from falling into the absurdity of reducing fractions to their lowest terms before the subject of fractions had been introduced.

Generalization is treated to better advantage in this work than in any other with which we are acquainted. The general use and application of algebraic symbols is illustrated by the demonstration or reduction of several "general problems," giving rise to certain formulas or rules by which all other examples, differing only in the particular numbers, may be solved. The application of these formulas is illustrated by examples. Section V. likewise contains several general theorems, and a very neat algebraic demonstration of certain properties of numbers. Many teachers and students who use algebra only as a kind of higher arithmetic, may consider this section as not suited to their purpose. Such can omit it and pass on without difficulty to the other parts of the work. But there is no section in the book that we consider of more importance, or which we would more earnestly commend to the attention of both teacher and scholar. It is only when the student can substitute

letters for numerals, and can frame formulas with facility, that he begins to see the beauty, the power, and certainty of algebra. The most luminous and satisfactory processes in algebra are those which are least encumbered with arithmetical numerals. We think the author has not devoted too much space to this subject even in an elementary treatise on algebra. Generalization appears to most beginners in the science as useless, but a little acquaintance with it, and a moment's reflection, we think, cannot fail to show them its great utility. A letter may be used to represent a large as well as a small number; and every one certainly can see, that if it were required in any demonstration to multiply such numbers as 13789468, 312567893, and 9678374567 together, it would be much easier to represent them by letters, and write  $a b c$ , than to find the numeral product. In the solution of many problems, a great number of multiplications, divisions, powers, and roots may be required in order to obtain the result, while the final equation may not contain but two or three such operations, and those, perhaps, of the simplest character. A great deal of time in such cases can be gained by substituting letters for numbers throughout the work of solution, and then in the result, when the most of the operations have been performed, again substituting numbers for letters. The work will likewise be less cumbrous. Moreover, when we once have obtained a solution in this manner, without again going through with the work necessary to obtain it, by means of the last formula we can in a few moments solve very many questions of the same kind. We would again commend this section to particular attention.

We might notice likewise the demonstration of certain properties of numbers. This may not be very practical, in the sense in which the term is often used; yet the study of it will familiarize the student with the use of algebraic symbols, and it has likewise the advantage of affording him the pleasure arising from the discovery of new and unexpected truths. The abstract properties of numbers received great attention from the ancient mathematicians, and it is said that for a long time the Pythagoreans devoted their attention exclusively to their discovery. There are two kinds of properties of numbers; one essential to their very nature, and the other accidental, being derived entirely from the manner of representing them. It is an essential property of numbers that the successive sums of the odd numbers should be squares;— $1$ ,  $1+3=4$ ,  $1+3+5=9$ ,  $1+3+5+7=16$ , &c.; but it is an accidental property of  $9$ , that the sum of the digits which represent its products is always either  $9$  itself or a multiple of  $9$ , thus:—

$1 \times 9 = 9$		$5 \times 9 = 45$	$4 + 5 = 9$
$2 \times 9 = 18$	$1 + 8 = 9$	$6 \times 9 = 54$	$5 + 4 = 9$
$3 \times 9 = 27$	$2 + 7 = 9$	$7 \times 9 = 63$	$6 + 3 = 9$
$4 \times 9 = 36$	$3 + 6 = 9$	$8 \times 9 = 72$	$7 + 2 = 9$
		$9 \times 9 = 81$	$8 + 1 = 9$

The number 9 has the remarkable property, likewise, of resolving other numbers, when joined with itself, into themselves also; thus:—

$9 + 1 = 10$	1
$9 + 2 = 11$	$1 + 1 = 2$
$9 + 3 = 12$	$1 + 2 = 3$
$9 + 8 = 17$	$1 + 7 = 8$ , &c.

Mathematicians anciently confined their attention chiefly to the accidental properties of numbers, dividing them into classes of *perfect* and *imperfect*, *abundant* and *defective*. They ascribed to them qualities entirely distinct from notation. They even pretended to believe that the world was created with reference to their abstract properties. The first four odd numbers, 1, 3, 5, 7, represented the pure and celestial parts of the universe, while the first four even numbers represented these elements in combination with terrestrial matter. The sum of these numbers, 36, was considered as possessing high and wonderful virtues, and was held, according to Plutarch, in such veneration by the Pythagoreans, that to swear by it was to contract the most solemn obligations.

The Magi at Athens, at the time of Plato's death, sacrificed to him, because he died at the age of eighty-one—figures which consummate a perfect number, namely, nine times nine. Plato considered the number twelve as an image of all-perfect progression, because it is composed of a multiplication of three by four, both of which numbers the Pythagoreans considered as emblems of perfection. The number twelve has been a great favorite with poets and philosophers. Plato's laws are in twelve books, Virgil's *Æneid* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and also Spenser's *Faërie Queene*.\* The number three has been considered as a remarkable number, and was anciently considered as illustrative of many things which we cannot here mention. For further illustration of properties of numbers we would refer to Mr. Clark's *Algebra*.

The article on Logarithms in this work deserves a passing notice. Instead of giving a synopsis, altogether useless in an elementary work, of the different systems of logarithms, the author has wisely confined himself to a clear exhibition of the nature of common logarithms. While the utility of logarithms is understood,

\* Bucke's *Beauties and Sublimities of Nature*, p. 269.



to many their formation appears mysterious. But the author has given so simple a method of calculating them, that the student well versed in arithmetic and geometrical progression can readily understand the whole process. This method of computation gives the common student a far better understanding of the nature of logarithms than any other we have seen.

The general theory of equations, and several other subjects treated with singular ability, are put in the form of an Appendix to the work. We think this a good arrangement. Although these subjects are indispensable as introductory to the higher mathematics, yet they are but of little importance to the beginner in the science, or the merely practical algebraist; they are seldom studied in schools and academies. We would suggest to the author or his publishers the propriety of having an edition published without the Appendix, to accommodate this class of learners. Published in this form, the work will come cheaper, and yet contain all that is generally studied.

Of the other sections in this work we cannot now speak particularly: we consider the work as a decided improvement on the treatises in general use. Throughout the whole the reasoning is adapted to the progress of the student. The examples are so arranged as to form a series of progressive exercises, rendering the transition from the more simple to the most complicated algebraic operations as easy as possible. We consider it unusually well adapted to render the study of the science attractive, and to introduce the student to the more abstruse analytical reasoning of the higher branches of mathematics. Difficulties will be found in this work, but they are difficulties inherent in the subject, and not dependent on the manner of treating it. The work is eminently practical, and still that which we consider to be more important in the study of this science is not lost sight of, namely, the discipline of the mind—the increase of intellectual power. Three things are to be considered in an education—the increase of mental power, the acquisition of knowledge, and the acquisition of skill in its use. These three things are distinct from each other, and there are studies particularly suited to each branch. For the acquisition of mental power, the study of mathematics, especially analysis and other branches of pure mathematics, is acknowledged to be unrivalled. The question is often asked relative to the more intricate parts of analysis, What good will they ever do in the affairs of life? It is evident that the benefit must be chiefly sought in the effect they have on the thinking powers. Every one who has pursued the more intricate parts of mathematics, probably, is well aware

that they have produced an effect in enlarging and disciplining the intellectual powers which the whole of life will not obliterate. It should ever be remembered, that the first great object of education is not to acquire knowledge, but to learn and to be able *to do something*. Then we discover the use of mathematics, to expand the mind and strengthen the power of continuous thought. It has been said that no one can exalt his capacity for all good more than by adopting that course of education which will enable him to derive the best advantage from the works of Newton, D'Alembert, and La Place.

But in the first great object of studying mathematics other considerations should not be lost. The study is far more practical than is by many admitted. It would be well to present this consideration more fully to the pupil than often is done. "Does the student weary over the theorems of his Euclid or the formulæ of his algebra? Let him be taught how these theorems and formulæ are employed by the engineer, in his nice adjustments and calculations; by the mariner, as he shapes his unerring course across the trackless sea; by the astronomer, as he passes the limits of this little earth, seems to set his foot on the most distant planet, and takes the measure of its size, its density, and the span of its orbit. Instruct him in the uses of these theorems and formulæ as well as in their theory, and they will no longer seem but a tissue of hard names and dreary abstractions. They will be seen to shed their concentrated light over the humblest processes of the artisan, and to open before him prospects of improvement as interminable in extent as they are animating in their influence."\*

There are few subjects in physical science or in the arts that are not greatly dependent on mathematics. The truths of pure mathematics are necessary truths, the reverse of which involves a contradiction. The laws of nature on which physical reasonings are founded in some instances are necessary truths, but in many cases depend in a great degree on the testimony of our senses. These derive the highest confirmation from the aid of pure mathematics, by which innumerable consequences, previously unobserved, are proved to result from them. "The laws of nature are for the most part simple in themselves, but the circumstances under which they act induce a complication in their agencies, which calls at once for the most powerful exertions of natural reason and the most refined artifices of practiced ingenuity to develop. Combinations are perpetually presenting themselves where the principles

\* Science and the Arts of Industry.

are satisfactorily known, the general laws placed beyond a doubt, the mode of applying mathematical investigation thoroughly understood, yet which, by the mere complication of the pure mathematical inquiries they involve, defy the utmost power of calculation. The restless activity of nature surrounds us with minute phenomena of this kind. The motions and equilibrium of fluids, their capillary attraction, the vibrations of the atmosphere and of solid bodies, every breath of wind that blows, and every moth that sparkles in the sunbeam, supplies us with an instance in point. On a wider scale the simple law of gravitation, modified by the consideration of three gravitating bodies in motion, produces a problem which has resisted every effort of ingenuity and industry, stimulated by the strongest motives which can rouse man to exertion. This consideration will afford an ample answer to those who look on abstract inquiries which have no immediate practical object in view as useless or contemptible. The luxuriance of modern analytical speculation has arrived at such a point as to startle the most industrious, and to render an equally perfect knowledge of all its parts no longer attainable by one individual; yet of all the ingenuity which has been lavished upon the system, of all the lives drawn out in abstract speculation, no portion can, with a shadow of reason, be looked upon as waste labor, so long as we remain uncertain whether the very next physical problem which presents itself for examination may not plunge us at once in the most remote and obscure of its recesses.”\*

While it is now generally admitted that the study of most of the sciences is not inimical to the appreciation of the evidences of either natural or revealed religion, unfortunately, this seems not to be true of mathematics. It is indeed to be regretted that one† of the able authors of a series of works designed to illustrate the “Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God as manifested in Creation,” should have expressly maintained that long application to the abstract sciences disqualifies the mind for duly appreciating the force of that kind of evidence which alone can be adduced in favor of natural theology. The article is calculated to discourage close attention to these most useful pursuits. Such influence, coming from one of the authors of the above-mentioned series of works, seems very ungenerous to their fellow-laborers, and as coming with a very ill grace, when they are indebted for many of the most sublime truths on which their arguments are founded to

\* Ed. Ency., Art. Mathematics.

† Bridgewater Treatise, by Rev. Wm. Whewell.



the untiring perseverance and laborious investigations of mathematicians.

The following quotations will perhaps exhibit the author's views fairly :—

“We may thus with the greatest propriety deny to the mechanical philosophers and mathematicians of recent times any authority with regard to their views of the administration of the universe ; we have no reason whatever to expect from their speculations any help, when we ascend to the first Cause and supreme Ruler of the universe. But we might perhaps go further, and assert that they are in some respects less likely than men employed in other pursuits to make any clear advance toward such a subject of speculation.”

And again :—“If the mathematician set out on religious reasoning, thinking that his mathematical knowledge alone must bring him into nearer proximity to his Maker and Master, he will, I fear, find that the road is interrupted by a wide chasm, and he may perhaps turn back prostrated and hopeless. It is only by rising above his mathematics and his physics—by recognizing the utter dissimilarity of moral and religious grounds of belief from mathematical and physical reasonings upon established laws of nature—that he can make his way to the conviction of a moral constitution and providential government of the world ; and if the mathematical or physical philosopher so habituate his mind that it is difficult for him thus to elevate himself into a higher region than that of mathematical proof and physical consequence, I cannot but think he does damage to his power of judging on those other subjects.”

The chapter from which the above quotations are selected induced Professor Babbage, as he states, to publish his work styled *Ninth Bridgewater Treatise*. In this, we think, the study of mathematics is most triumphantly defended. The work exhibits a power of generalization rarely witnessed. It was not, perhaps, to be expected that the next addition to the numerous and irresistible arguments in favor of the subjects in natural and revealed religion would be derived from the pure mathematics, yet no one, we think, can carefully peruse this work and not admit that many of its principles and conclusions may fairly claim to be admitted among those fundamental truths that are considered as the pillars of our faith. No one, perhaps, has given a more irresistible answer to Hume's famous argument against miracles—an answer founded on mathematical principles. There is, moreover, something sublime and well worthy of attention in the idea, that the most extensive laws to which we have hitherto attained converge to some few simple

and general principles, by which the whole of the material universe is sustained, and from which its infinitely varied phenomena emerge as the necessary consequences. Instead of representing the Deity as destitute of foresight, as perpetually interfering to alter the laws he had previously ordained, in order to accomplish some present good, he represents him as having from the first foreseen all these necessary changes and apparent exceptions, and as having established one general law, which in its various modifications shall include them all. So that God, in his superintending providence, instead of perpetually interfering with his laws for individual good, has provided for these changes, so that they constitute a part of the original universal law. These views are enforced by an illustration derived from the calculating engine of which Prof. Babbage is the inventor, an illustration so beautiful and striking that we can hardly refrain from introducing it here ; yet its length forbids.\* It refutes most conclusively the assertion, that "we have no reason whatever to expect from their [that is, mathematicians'] speculations any help when we ascend to the first Cause and supreme Ruler of the universe."

To refer particularly to the many interesting and valuable illustrations and arguments in this work would lead us too far from our present purpose. Sufficient are given to show that the abstract sciences may supply some of the strongest arguments in favor of religion. We doubt not but that all who attentively read the work of Professor Babbage will agree with him when, speaking of his speculations, he says :—"If the reader agrees with me in opinion, that these speculations lead to a more exalted view of the great Author of the universe than any we have hitherto possessed, he must also have arrived at the conclusion, that the study of the most abstract branch of practical mechanics, combined with that of the most abstruse portions of mathematical science, has no tendency to incapacitate the human mind from the perception of the evidences of natural religion ; and that even those very sources themselves may furnish arguments which open views of the grandeur of creation perhaps more extensive than any which the sciences of observation or of physics have as yet supplied."†

There has been for a long time an unreasonable prejudice against the study of mathematics. Gibbon went so far as to assert that the mathematics so harden the mind, by the habit of rigid demonstration, as to destroy those finer feelings of moral evidence which must determine the actions and principles of life. The objection

\* For this illustration see Ninth Bridgewater Treatise, p. 42.

† Ibid., p. 100.

has been often and variously repeated. But it might be sufficient to remark in relation to this, that Euclid, Archimedes, Galileo, Napier, Newton, and Euler were not only in the first class as mathematicians, but also in the first rank as excellent men. It has justly been remarked, that "it requires but little insight into man's heart to perceive that profession and professional advancement, that power and wealth, have a far more frequent and more effective influence on his judgment than any mental habits he may be supposed to have cultivated." We may then, without hesitation, recommend the study of mathematics as best calculated to strengthen and discipline the mental powers, and as in no way calculated to injure the moral faculties, but as affording even valuable illustrations of the truths of religion.

Algebra is the introduction to all those more important branches of mathematics that depend on analysis. If this is not mastered to the satisfaction of the student, if it is not in some degree rendered interesting and attractive, few will think of pursuing mathematics further. Hence the importance of having a text-book properly prepared. So many text-books are yearly issued, that most teachers think it not worth while to be at the expense of procuring and examining them. In recommending the work of Mr. Clark to the public, we say without hesitation that we think it has stronger claims on the attention of teachers and all others interested in the subject than any work of a similar character with which we are acquainted. The work will bear examination; and no one who is disinterested, we think, can carefully study it with reference to the selection and arrangement of its materials, the simplicity and precision with which the principles and rules are expressed, the unity of the work, the natural manner in which the topics succeed each other, each preparing the way for that which is to follow, and not be convinced that this work is not only better calculated for an elementary text-book, but also for an introduction to the higher branches of mathematics, than any work now in use.



ART. III.—*Kant, and Kantism.*

## KANT.

THE reforms attempted by Bacon and Descartes, in the methods of philosophizing, produced in their own countries phenomena most interesting. The inductive system, as developed by the former, was fully carried out in the *Principia* of Newton and the *Treatise on the Understanding* by Locke. The latter work, on account of the sifting discernment of the writer, met with a highly flattering reception, which did not, as is often the case, suddenly die away, but which has continued even unto our own times. The influence of this philosophy was, however, in many cases most hurtful, because of the premise upon which all its investigations were founded; which affirmed that there were but two sources of ideas, sensation and reflection. Proposing as it did to take nothing for granted which had not passed the ordeal of rigid investigation, it assumed an error in the very first step, which, entering into the remaining portions, distorted the whole. With such a fundamental error, its influence was necessarily injurious, as all may perceive by following the path marked out by its development.

In the hands of Hume it produced infidelity; with Berkeley, through reaction, perfect idealism; in the system of Condillac of France, gross sensualism. Systems most pernicious sprang out of it; systems, too, which could not be overthrown while the *Treatise on the Understanding* was received. On the continent at this time philosophy was assuming a not less distorted, though less hurtful state. The imaginings of Descartes were followed by the system of Leibnitz, with the ideas so prominently advanced of the sufficient reason, and pre-established harmony. Like the system of Locke, it was well received and taught in the universities. Wolf, its succeeding champion, added much, changed its form, and called it by his own name. Throughout all Germany was the philosophy of Wolf received when the books of Mr. Hume appeared, and in Germany as in England produced trembling and dismay. He made his most formidable attack on the idea of cause, asserting that from sensation or reflection no ideas of cause can be obtained, and therefore all ideas of this kind are mere chimera. Of course in this attack all religion was in danger, as well as the system of Wolf, which rested upon the principle of sufficient reason. In England and Scotland the Church fell back immediately upon faith as her basis, while in Germany religion was uprooted and destroyed.

In such crises master minds usually arise; nor could the great interests of man, the independency and freedom of his will, the immortality of his thinking part, be resigned without a desperate conflict. Of the great champion who arose we proceed to speak.

Immanuel Kant was born in 1724, at Königsberg in Prussia. His father, George Kant, was a saddler by trade, originally from Scotland. To Immanuel first instructions in reading and writing were given at the charity school of his own parish, but on account of the ability and inclination to learn which he manifested, he was soon removed to the college of Fredericianum. Here mathematics and natural philosophy became his favorite studies. Having quitted the institution at the close of his course, he acted in the capacity of tutor in various situations for nine years.

In 1755 the degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him, when he immediately commenced lecturing with great success to crowded audiences. During the space of fifteen years which now passed peacefully over him, he published many works both upon physical and metaphysical subjects. In 1770 the metaphysical department at Königsberg having become vacant, the professorial chair was offered to him.

Here metaphysics occupied all his time, and in this new relation we find the great powers of his mind suddenly developing to an unexpected greatness. His celebrated work, the "*Critique of Pure Reason*," ("*Critik der Reinen Vernunft*,") appeared in 1781, attended by circumstances of distinguishing peculiarity. For six years did it remain in the hands of the bookseller, uncalled for and unknown, and it was when he had concluded to destroy the copies for waste paper that a sudden demand required and exhausted three editions. After this appeared several important works containing the system which he upheld, applied to practical and theoretical ethics.

In 1786 he was appointed rector of the university, in 1788 senior of the philosophical faculty, in 1798 he took his leave of the public as an author, and early in 1804 death removed him to a happier clime.

Before speaking of his philosophy, we will consider his character as we find it delineated in the notices which have been furnished by various writers. In philosophy, say they, he was celebrated for his depth of intellect, and powers of generalization. In the world he was a bright example of benevolence and love. "His mind, polished like the diamond, was the philosopher's stone of his age." There was no subject which he could not investigate, and the accuracy and minuteness of his investigations were without a parallel.

He has created for himself an undying reputation, and posterity will look upon him as having brought us nearer than ever to that Socratic wisdom, of acknowledging our ignorance and the limits of our possible acquirements.

It was his intention to strip philosophy of everything that did not belong to her as a science, and we may infer from this that he aspired with unwonted vigor after the truth. But he did not alone devote himself to abstruse and dry reasoning. His eyes and ears were ever open to the actions and opinions of the moving world, and he studied his fellow-men that he might please and instruct. The students of the university in which he taught, acquired a quickness and depth in metaphysical reasoning which is but rarely known.

He made everything tributary to himself, and history, philosophy, mathematics, and experience, alternately and in unison, ministered to his pleasure, and became his instruments in imparting knowledge. As we have remarked, he fixed his eye upon immortal truth, and he acquainted himself with her offspring, beauty and goodness, that he might aspire to her own lofty throne. No cabal, no sect, no advantage, no ambition of a name, had the smallest charm for him when compared with the extension and development of truth. Man was to him a creature far above the beasts that perish, one who aspires to higher and holier scenes. Gentle benevolence and goodness were ever seen lighting up his countenance, and his noble forehead, while it revealed the depth and power of his understanding, ever wore the aspect of imperturbable serenity and joy. It was necessary but to know him, to love him; for joined to his giant intellect there was a tenderness of heart, and strictness in morality, which made him a bright example to the youth of his age. No one could say that he was selfish, for the happiness of others was ever his great desire. He viewed the world through the medium of his own happy temper, and found everything agreeable and alluring. No breeze of passion ever ruffled the mirror surface of his calm mind, and in him the acuteness of reasoning was joined with the polish of a gentleman.

He was a most decided enemy to falsehood of every kind. The world ever saw him as he was, unvarnished by any false art, and making no attempts to conceal his own merits. In his youth he paid his attention to the physical sciences, and arrived at a good degree of proficiency in demonstrative reasoning. It was not, however, until he entered into metaphysics that the great powers of his intellect became fully developed. Here we see him, not rushing to new and untried conclusions, which peradventure could not



stand the test of experience, but moving slowly and surely, clipping off here and there those things that do not belong to true reasoning, casting aside mysticism and prejudice, until he arrived at the fountains of all knowledge. Then he noted their number, limits, and peculiarities, and starting from these *a priori* truths, he followed down the many streams that flowed from them, until they all united and formed the beautiful river of science. This system speaks for itself, and is but a representation of the excellent arrangement of his own mind.

But there is yet another peculiar characteristic of this great man, and it may be found in his love for his native place. We are told that he spent eighty years in Königsberg, contented and happy. Many offers were made to him to remove to other and more flourishing universities, with promises of many honors, but they had no effect. His love for his home was far greater than his love for riches and fame. Having received from his mother a spirit of reverence and devotion, he aspired after true religion, and made the great principle of right his guide in morals, as was truth in science.

How much he was esteemed may be inferred from the fact that in the universities of Jena, Halle, Göttingen, Erlangen, &c., lectures were delivered on his system; and books were written by his advocates to illustrate and defend his doctrines. "Professors were even sent at the request and expense of princes and crowned heads, to learn more minutely, by a personal conference, what had not been sufficiently elucidated in his books. His lecture rooms were crowded, and many from afar came as disciples to sit at the feet of the German Gamaliel."

Such was the character of this philosopher. His intellect was deep and discriminating, his affections were bound up in universal benevolence, his religion was that of the heart. Few have known and appreciated his merits, because they have looked for faults instead of virtues, and read his works rather to criticise than imitate. His failings were few, and resulted from viewing all nature as happy as himself. His virtues were many, and will not be forgotten, when the philosophy which he taught shall be swallowed up in universal knowledge; and error, and falsehood shall be known no more.

#### KANTISM.

We have already remarked that Locke ascribed the origin of all our ideas to sensation and reflection, which was the fruitful source of numerous glaring errors. This Kant perceived, and finding that the phenomena of mind could not be established upon the in-

ductive method as used by the former philosopher, he advanced, after much reflection, a new postulate, which runs through his system, and gives coherence to the whole. It is as follows:—

“Whatsoever truth is *necessary*, and of *universal extent*, comes to the mind from *its own operation*, and does *not* rest on *observation* and *experience*; and conversely, whatsoever truth or perception is present to the mind, with a consciousness *not* of its *necessity*, but of its *contingency*, is ascribable not to the original agency of the mind *itself*, but derives its *origin* from *observation* and *experience*.”

Having established the foregoing, he proceeded to an examination of man's cognitive faculty, to discover the laws and extent of its operation. Like some of his predecessors, he considered that we possess three distinct faculties, sensation, understanding, and reason. The reason he held to be the higher faculty of the soul, capable of criticising not only itself but also the subordinate faculties of understanding and sense. He, therefore, interrogates the pure reason in his great work, called the “Critique of the Pure Reason,” concerning the mind of man, and the results to which he arrives we will attempt to set before our readers.

The matter to be explained is the origin and constitution of knowledge *a priori*; just that evidently which Locke failed to explain. According to our postulate, whatever is of universal extent, and comes from the mind itself and not from experience, is *a priori*; that which is contingent and from experience is *a posteriori*. Every truth expressed in a proposition is *necessary* or *contingent*, and every proposition is *analytic* or *synthetic*. Thus, wherever we find the relation of subject and predicate, we find it in one of two ways. Either the predicate belongs to the subject as already contained, or it lies utterly without the idea of the subject. The first relation whenever it exists in a proposition is analytic, because it adds nothing to our knowledge of the subject; but merely resolves and dissects the knowledge we already have. The synthetic, on the contrary, increases our knowledge of the subject, because in it we find a predicate referred which is not contained in our conceptions of the object, and therefore not before known to belong to it. For example, to say that gold is yellow is analytic, while to say that it does not rust is synthetic.

All knowledge founded on experience is synthetic; for that which is analytical comes from intuition. The great question is therefore how we form synthetic propositions *a priori*. That knowledge is *a priori* which is attained independently of experience; as when we assert that the square of the hypotenuse in a right trian-

gle is equal to the sum of the squares of the sides, the proposition is not only seen to be of *necessity* true, but also of universal extent, although all triangles have not been examined. This, therefore, did not come from experience. It is the result of some operation of the mind, which we seek to investigate.

Many, if not all, of the elementary ideas are *a priori*, and the manner in which they are combined so as to form a compound conception is interesting. Upon the sensory impressions are made by surrounding objects, but manifestly the impressions want a unity until brought together under some *form* of the mind. This however is evident. They must be co-existent, or successive. If co-existent, they exist in space; if successive, in time. Space and time are of the *a priori* class by which we behold and view. They are the ground forms of the sensation, and being produced by the mind are subjective realities. To prove that space is a subjective reality not derived from the senses, we will suppose we have in the mind the conception of an apple. An inductive philosopher would aver that this conception is wholly made up of elementary ideas derivable from the senses. Let us see; and if anything remain after we have thrown off the elements received by the senses, that remaining portion must be subjective wholly. We abstract, therefore, the color, taste, smell, weight, &c., in short we abolish it in thought, but we find that the space which it occupied still remains, the vacant form of the annihilated body still presents itself. We thence conclude that the idea of space is to us necessary, and has its origin, not in the action of the senses, but from the *a priori* action of the mind itself. The same may be proved of time, so that we find in the sensory two *a priori forms*, in, and according to which, all objects are viewed. Whether other beings see objects in space or time we know not. We can very well conceive, however, that they might have been created otherwise. All things, therefore, which do not present themselves to us through the sensation, but immediately by means of the reason, cannot be viewed as existing in space. We refer to the spiritual and ideal world. All the notions which we form of objects—all the qualities which we attribute to them—are derived either from the impression of external nature on the senses, or from the innate forms which dwell in human perception. We perceive then the *phenomena*, alone, of external things, not the *noumena*, or essence. The phenomena are known as existing in space and time, which are ideal realities developed in the internal. They possess the quality of magnitude, which confers upon them the capability of being depicted by diagrams and numbers, which gives rise to the pure science of reason called



mathematics. The difference between this and the moral sciences is now apparent. All pure ideas of the understanding and reason, not being known in space or represented by number, do not admit of demonstration.

The *understanding* is in possession of the universals, which it uses to hold fast the singulars which flit across the sensory. "The whole operation of the understanding consists in judging, that is, for the most part, in referring singulars under their universals; the consolidating and binding together of which with one another gives birth to knowledge." We will exemplify. When we see a star for the first time, we are conscious at first only of a thing. The understanding takes occasion, however, to form a conception and to acquaint itself (*kennen*) with that conception. This conception is the universal at this time for the mind. When a star is again perceived, its impression is referred to the universal already established, pronounced to agree, and we recognize it, (*erkennen*), this is knowledge.

The universals of the understanding are thus notions of a *potential* object, or one which may be. A *category*, or pure intellectual notion, is the notion of a potential object to which particular intuitions may be referred. The sensory we have discovered to possess two unalterable intuitions, which are both necessary and universal; and in like manner we become aware that the understanding possesses a necessary *a priori* representation, that of *myself* or "I." This is called consciousness or self-consciousness. "It is the general form of all singulars and universals whatever. In short, it is the intellect itself, being neither more nor less than the understanding's self-consciousness of its own spontaneity."

We speak of *our* perceptions, from which it is plain that we must have combined them in some how or other with the "I"; this synthesis is what consolidates the variety of sensitive perceptions in one whole, and is a combination which must necessarily obtain. It is the "I," that by force of its standing identity, introduces unity into the midst of all the checkered sensations of my receptivity. The question is now clearly before us: in what way does the understanding effect a union between the variety in the sensory, and the unchanging perception of *itself the cogitant*? The laws by which this combination is effected are the logical laws of the intellect. They are the *ground forms* of thought, and taken abstractly are categories.

The categories of Kant we give below.

1. Quantity or extension.  
One (the measure.)

Many (the quantum.)  
All (the whole.)

2. *Gradation or intensity.*

Something (that is, Affirmation of  
a certain grade of intensity.)

Nothing.

Anything.

3. *Relation.*

Inherence.

Causality.

Reaction.

4. *Modality.*

Possibility.

Entity, or existence.

Necessity.

The ground forms are independent of particular intuitions, but are notions for cogitating any object of intuition whatever, even though it were supersensible. Thus is the main problem of the Critique solved. We see clearly how mathematical and physical science are founded. Space and time are intuitions *a priori*. "To convert a representation into knowledge demands a notion and an intuition welded together into one perception; but from the *a priori* singulars are derived all the notions of the configurations of space, and of the combinations of numbers discoursed of in geometry and arithmetic. Mathematical science consists then in the subsumption of *a priori* intuitions under *a priori* notions of the understanding. Natural philosophy, however, is different; for in it the intuitions are *a posteriori*, because from experience. How such subsumption of singulars *a posteriori* under universals *a priori* is effected, requires some explanation.

To effect a subsumption there must be some resemblance between the representations unified. Between the two already mentioned there is, however, nothing homogeneous, which warns us to look for some middle term or connecting link. This we find in time, which is a formal law of the mind regulating the representations of sense and the categories. In other words, to the understanding's categories the fancy endeavors to supply a sensible image, which it does by certain configurations and determinations of time. This Kant calls "schematism" or the "effigiation of the category." Of the schemes, properly so called, there are eight, not twelve; because the categories of quantity and quality differ only in degree, not in kind. The effigiation confers unity upon time and its contents, enabling all the perceptions to combine in the "I," into which focus of self-consciousness all intuitions converge by the instrumentality of the categories.

Whenever impressions are made on the sensory they converge immediately to the "I," and it is this convergence which stamps both upon them and the scheme time, that incompleteness whereby they are singular perceptions. "The scheme of the category quantity is time itself, that is, number. In the genesis of time

the mind adds successive units, that is, generates number." The scheme of the category intensity is time, not in its genesis, but considered, when generated as a vacuum, or plenum. "The synthesis of quantity goes from the parts to the whole, whereas that of intensity, or quality, begins with the whole, and thence descends to the parts. For the category of quality or intensity, time is effigiated thus:—

Reality=Time figured as a plenum.

Negation=Non-implement of time.

Limitation=Transit from the former to the latter."

The category substance or relation, is effigiated upon the modes of time, which are three,—duration, succession, and simultaneousness. Hence for *inherence* we have not only a self-subsisting thing, but one that persists throughout all time in space, and thus is the permanent ground-work of certain changes. So *causality* is effigiated by representing such an actuating thing as antecedes in time, and upon which somewhat else invariably follows. "The category *reaction* is effigiated by representing as co-existent the modification of the accidents of substance. The scheme of the categories of modality is the representing of the relation, not of phenomena to one another, but of the relation which a phenomena bears to time itself.

"Possibility is effigiated by representing an object as at any time. Entity or existence is effigiated by representing an object as at some fixed given time. Necessity is effigiated by representing an object as at all times."

The two categories, quantity and intensity, warrant the application of the calculus to phenomena, and from the two categories, substance or relation, and modality, are derived the *a priori* propositions upon which natural philosophy depends.

We can give now a general idea of the operations of the mind. The intuitions of the sensory, the understanding reduces to unity under the *a priori* conditions of time and space expressed by the categories. These unities thus produced we may call ideas. They are in turn reduced to a unity by the reason, and as there are three general forms of reasoning, the categorical, hypothetical, and disjunctive, there are three ideas, which establish for each form of reasoning the absolute condition of unity. "Reasoning is categorical when the understanding furnishes to the reason judgments in which the attribute is considered as residing in the subject. Reason should, then, seek for the idea of a subject which does not itself reside in any other: this is the idea of substance. Reasoning is



hypothetical when the attribute of judgments is united to a subject only in virtue of a particular supposition. Reason should then seek for an absolute hypothesis, and as no particular can give it, this absolute hypothesis is perhaps only the absolute totality of all phenomena, that is, the idea of the whole series of facts which compose the universe. Finally, disjunctive reasoning ascends from a part to the whole, and from the whole to a larger whole until it reaches the Supreme Being." The above quotation we have taken from the History of Dr. Henry, as being much more pertinent than anything which we could produce.

Now it being very evident that experience cannot furnish either the ideas of substance, of the totality of phenomena, or of the Being containing all existences, it follows that the notions by which reason constitutes the unity of judgments are *a priori*.

The speculative reason, as we have seen, asks the question, What can I know? The practical reason asks, What ought I to do? Putting all sensible motives aside, we have manifestly the following answer: "Act according to a maxim which would admit of being regarded as a general law for all acting beings." This is the moral law. It naturally presupposes man's freedom to act, and further by commanding him to establish a perfect harmony between his intentions and the moral law, it points him to *holiness* as his ideal. This Kant calls virtue, so that we may infer that virtue and not happiness is the supreme end. All of these lead us to the belief of the immortality of the soul and the existence of God.

The philosophy of Kant was termed transcendental by himself because the *a priori* notions of the mind transcend experience. We should be careful, however, lest we infer that it is the same as modern transcendentalism, which is in truth far removed from it. Many objections have been raised against his system, most of which grew out of an inability to understand his language, but some were valid. That he did not make enough of the sensibility in man is evident, but that his theory lead to idealism or sensualism is not true.

Fichte is referred to by writers as having carried out the views of Kant to their legitimate end. This, however, we are disposed to deny, for the system of Fichte was one of complete idealism, founded upon the idea of the all universality of the "me." According to him the "me" first posits itself in an absolute and unlimited manner; then, by the limitation of its own activity, it acquires the idea of the not-me. Thus according to him all the realities in the world are expressed by the word, I. The opinion that the system of Kant leads to this result is obtained from a mistaken view

of his considerations of the objective. He expressly states that we confer objectivity upon the impressions of the sensory, although we indeed know the phenomena and not the noumena. Yet we have the idea of the noumena, or essence, as he also declares. This certainly is not the view taken by Fichte. The other reaction against Kantism, which asserted that its tendency was to skepticism, arose from the spirit of skepticism itself, which finds such tendencies in every system.

That there are errors in Kantism we readily admit, and some quite formidable, one of which we mentioned above, and we would add the tendency which his system has to cramp the workings of the pure reason. He has confined the mental operations in such a manner that limits are set, where there are indeed no such limits. Still he admitted revelation upon subjects not cognizable by the reason.

The great merit of this man consists not in the perfectness of his *system*, but in its *general* accuracy, and above all in its *originality*. He was, like Socrates, the destroyer of old and rotten theories, the promulgator of a new and sound one in a general form. Socrates needed a Plato to make known his conversations: Kant was his own Plato, in intention, if not in result. It cannot be denied that his writings are obscure on account of the technical phrases which he uses; some of them of his own construction, others bearing new meanings. It is for this reason, as much perhaps as any other, that many have neglected to study him, and adopting the common opinion, have lived in error. The beautiful views of Cousin, as advanced in his review of Locke, may be found in Kant in another form, as are many of our own well-received theories. The truth is, the "I" is conscious of the truth and necessity of certain things, and, notwithstanding all arguments, however ably used to the contrary, it will ever believe as it now does. This is a point too little remembered by thinkers, who adopt fanciful systems even against the declaration of the mind that they are false. Hume knew that he was fighting against the truth. Berkeley believed in an outward world, and so do we all give internal assent to the true, even when we vociferate loudly for the false. Let us then give to Kant his due, as an accurate original thinker, and if we wish to benefit our fellow-men, let us disseminate the good things of him far and wide. Truth never contradicts herself, however much she may seem to at times. If Kant's system was the true system, or a part of it, or containing some of the fundamentals of it, (which latter we believe,) it will finally meet with its due attention. The error, then, of philosophers seems to consist in their declaring what the mind

is to receive, rather than asking what it already believes. Closely allied to this we find also another failing in human nature, that of playing around some one point of view and explaining all things from that centre. If we should make out a list of those who have done this, how great indeed it would be, numbering most of the giant intellects of our world. When the philosophers of France declared themselves eclectics, they did nobly, but were they always found true to their name? We fear not. Let all notice, and reflect upon this.

Wesleyan University, Sept. 16th, 1844.

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ART. IV.—*The History of the Puritans, or Protestant Non-conformists; from the Reformation in 1517 to the Revolution in 1688.*

By DANIEL NEAL, M. A. Reprinted from the text of Dr. Toulmin's edition, with his Life of the Author, revised, corrected, and enlarged with Additional Notes, by JOHN O. CHOULES, M. A. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1844. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 534, 580.

THE present times are distinguished from all that have gone before them. The whole world is in motion; events of every kind are fermenting together, and all are ready to express anxiety as to the result to which the whole is tending. Principles which were once supposed to be entirely settled, are now not merely disputed, but by some in our own country, and by very many elsewhere, utterly exploded. The half-reformed Church of England, which has long boasted of its pure Protestant principles, and which bade fair a few years since to adopt holier and more Scriptural principles than formerly, now cherishes in her bosom thousands who hate the Reformation, and reject the name of Protestant. Thoughtful Christians of every denomination have been roused, and though they cannot be alarmed as to the ultimate result of the contest, they strongly feel the importance of vigorous efforts to repel error, and to accelerate the progress of truth.

In a period of great excitement, when every one is disposed to be active, and but few know how to direct their labors in the wisest direction, the advantages of history are beyond all calculation. Some one has said that "by the help of history a young man may acquire the experience of old age:" if this be true, never did the inhabitants of any country manifest more need, or were more capable of profiting by such a study, than our own countrymen. We, as well as our brethren in Britain, have Popery presented to us, both



in its honest character, as it appears at Rome, and in its cloak, as it is seen at Oxford. It is well worth while to ask the historian what has been done by our forefathers, under similar circumstances, in past ages. The diversity of the forms of error is by no means infinite; what is now rife among men was known to our fathers: let us ask in what manner they opposed error, for "with the ancient is wisdom." And if we shall find that they employed the best weapons in the wisest manner, and with the most delightful results, we shall surely be induced to act as they did, and to cherish hope of the same ultimate triumph. It is somewhat trying to have the battle of the Reformation to fight over again in the middle of the nineteenth century, and that too against those who have professed heretofore to fight by our side, as well as against Popery proper. Mr. Choules has well remarked in his preface to these volumes:—

"Afflictions and religious persecutions have for a long period been unknown to the happy citizens of these United States, and we have strangely forgotten the times that tried the souls of our fathers.

"There is a resurrection in the land at the present time of feelings and principles which were once generally prevalent, and which once so eminently distinguished our English ancestry. Now, after a long period of carelessness and inattention to the history of Protestant Non-conformity, the descendants of the Pilgrims have been compelled to fall back upon the history and faith of their fathers, in consequence of the pressing impertinence with which the claims of Popery, prelacy, and priestcraft have been urged upon them and their children. God has been building up Zion in all our borders for two hundred years, making our land the praise of the nations. He has granted the quickening influence of his Spirit to the ministrations of thousands of all religious names, who have published the deathless love of his adorable Son; and yet a comparative *handful* of our fellow-Christians gravely deny that our solemn gatherings make Christian churches; that our pastors and teachers have any authority to speak in His name who has so unequivocally blessed them in their labor; and as for Zion's chief and holiest feast, that they stigmatize as 'the blasphemous mockery of a lay sacrament.' We have again to fight the battle for all that we hold dear; but we enter the contest cheered by the undying renown of the names which illustrate the early history of the struggles for religious freedom. It is as fitting and proper for an American to forget or scorn the names of Lexington or Bunker-Hill, Trenton and Princeton, Hancock and Adams, Washington and Jefferson, as for a New-Englander to be unaffected by the utterance of Smithfield, Lambeth Palace, and the ever honored names of Rogers, and Ridley, Hooper, Lawrence, Latimer, and their fellow-martyrs. We should never forget that the prison, the scaffold, and the stake were stages in the march of civil and religious liberty which our forefathers had to travel, in order that we might attain our present liberty."—Vol. i, p. 6.

Cordially sympathizing with these views, we were glad to see the work before us announced from the American press, and shall feel still more happy to find that it is thoroughly digested till its readers are *steeped* in the spirit of the noble army of whom it treats. The importance of studying the History of the Puritans is forcibly shown by Dr. Vaughan, in his "History of England under the House of Stuart;" which, as it also happily illustrates several traits of their character, we will transcribe:—

"A distinct acquaintance with them is strictly necessary to an accurate knowledge of English history under the house of Stuart. It is the confession of their enemies that to this people we 'owe the whole freedom of our constitution;' and the character of that religious struggle, which has given this secular importance to their history, is but very partially and imperfectly exhibited in our most popular histories. The principles which made them Protestants made them Puritans, teaching them to regard oppression as an evil to be resisted, whether practiced by popes, princes, or by a Protestant clergy. Animated by these principles, and persecuted by the crown and the court clergy, the Puritans not only became connected with every popular movement, but gave to every such movement the peculiar energy of religious motives. The interests of religion and of civil freedom were seen to be everywhere interwoven, so that to forsake either would be to give an ascendancy to the enemies of both; and, what affected the Puritans greatly more was, that by such conduct they would expose themselves to those penalties in a future world, which they feared much beyond any which could be inflicted by man. It is confessed that their views of freedom, especially in regard to religion, were not in all respects equally enlightened; but they were views sufficiently just to render these persons the great conservators of English liberty as then secured by law, and the means of transmitting it to future generations in a form still more safe and ample. At this time, the alternative placed before them was to forego the public worship of their Maker, or to conform to usages which they believed to be contrary to his will. Had their persecutors allowed them to form separate assemblies, much of their just ground of complaint would have been removed; but from any separation they were prohibited by the sternest interdicts. These interdicts show it to have been well understood, that not a few were ready to avail themselves of such a liberty had it been conceded."—Pp. 45, 46.

We may remark in addition to what Dr. Vaughan has so well said, that the whole history of the Puritans goes to show that all establishments of a religious character, Protestant as well as Catholic, are essentially of a persecuting character. This is a part of their very nature; they tend alike to deprive men of civil and religious freedom; and where they are unchecked by popular opinion, they reduce the countries in which they exist to mental and almost physical slavery. The Greek, the Catholic, and the Epis-

copal Churches are proving this in the old world at the present hour. Nor ought we to forget the remark that this History will tend to show how much injury has been done to the cause of Christianity by too much government. An excess of regulation has been one of the greatest curses of the world, and nowhere has this remark been so clearly shown as by the mischiefs produced by human laws when they have interfered with religion. It is the duty of legislators to let it alone. Its professors, in this their distinctive character, do not even ask for *protection*; they want no more protection while worshipping the Supreme Being in "the house of prayer," than they have a right to require as they sit at their own firesides.

A second reason may be assigned for a careful study of the history of the Puritans, arising out of the fact that they have been almost always misrepresented. We scarcely remember an historian of their own day, or long afterward, who has been disposed to do them justice. Nearly all the accounts which have been handed down from their contemporaries were given by their enemies, whose interests and prejudices directly opposed them. Every year is disproving statements which were almost universally believed; and raising the names of men to honor, who, while they lived, were reckoned "the offscouring of the world." Mr. Neal himself, cordially as he sympathized with these moral heroes in feeling and principles, makes statements which more modern writers have gone very far to disprove. Time is bringing their righteousness fully to light; and their character, like their cause, gains much by rigid investigation. Men now are ceasing to look at the sayings and doings even of monarchs as inspired, and believing that kings and bishops *may* do wrong, it is not long before they find that they *have* done so; and hence men are becoming more than willing to do without kings, and to discover that those who have practically opposed their usurpations, of whatever character, may be greater friends to human happiness than they were once supposed to be. Let these principles be acted out in reference to the Puritans, and assuredly they will lose nothing by the course pursued.

But as Americans, we have yet another and powerful reason for studying the history of this noble race of men. They were the fathers of our country. Their blood flows in our veins; their influence is seen alike in our governments and our laws; our constitution is but their principles wrought out. Whatever is noble in our country may be traced to the character and the influence of the pilgrim fathers. As the work of Dr. Vaughan is less accessible to our readers than the History of Neal, and as he has given us the fact in a few lines, we quote from him:—



"In consequence of these and similar severities, many thousands of the most upright and industrious of the people emigrated to America; most of them taking sufficient property with them to become planters. Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New-Haven were the settlements in which they sought an asylum. The historian of the Puritans possessed the names of nearly eighty clergymen, who during this period accompanied various bands of exiles to the new world. Among these was Eliot, whose zeal procured him the honorable name of the apostle of the Indians, and whose perseverance supplied that people with the sacred Scriptures in their own tongue."—P. 275.

If we have not wearied our readers by dwelling too long on facts which must be very obvious to them, we would urge the study of this History because it presents us with many lessons which are always important, both to individuals and to bodies of men, and never more so than at the present hour. Now, when the most influential rulers in every state of Europe are seeking with more determination than ever to have but one church, and when in our own favored land wise and good men have lamented efforts, in more than one quarter, to denounce the right of private judgment in matters of religion, and to bring the minds of their fellow-citizens under the fetters of human opinion, it is well to ask old Time what we may learn from his records of the past.

Nor is it difficult to obtain an answer to such an inquiry. We have already observed that all Establishments must of necessity persecute, and this has been proved in England by Catholics, Protestants, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians; and if in this country Baptists and Quakers have held political power without persecuting their fellow-Christians, it was because they wisely separated religion from everything else, and declared that human laws had nothing to do with it. They never permitted Christianity to be established, and therefore never were persecutors. The absurdity of the king directing the religion of his subjects, so strongly insisted on not only in darker ages, but within the last year or two, by Mr. Gladstone, in his talented volume, is strongly put by Dr. Price, in his "*History of Non-conformity*," which Mr. Choules has very properly introduced as a note in the first volume of Neal:—

"When the religion of a people is made to depend on the pleasure of their rulers, it is necessarily subjected to a thousand infusions foreign from its nature. The kingly or magisterial office is essentially political. Its power may be wielded by an irreligious, immoral, or profane man; a despiser of Christianity, or a blasphemer of God. What, therefore, can be more monstrous than to attach to such an office a controlling power over the faith and worship of the church; to constitute its occupant the supreme head of that body which is represented as a

congregation of faithful men? The Christian faith addresses men individually, soliciting an examination of its character, and demanding an intelligent and hearty obedience. But where the pleasure of a king is permitted to regulate the faith of a nation, authority is substituted for reason, and the promptings of fear supplant the perceptions of evidence, and the confiding attachment of an enlightened piety. This is the radical defect of the English Reformation. The people were prohibited from proceeding further than the king authorized. They were to believe as he taught, and to worship as he enjoined. Suspending their own reason, extinguishing the light divine within them, they were to follow their monarch, licentious and blood-thirsty as he was, in all matters pertaining to the moral government and eternal welfare of their souls."—Vol. i, pp. 42, 43.

Nor have parliaments or assemblies of divines been more tolerant, or less disposed to punish those who differed from them. Prynne taught in the House of Commons, that "if the parliament and synod establish presbytery, [Presbyterianism,] the Independents and all others are bound to submit under pain of obstinacy." Calamy, preaching before the same house, in 1664, says, "If you do not labor, according to your duty and power, to suppress the errors thereby that are spread in the kingdom, all those errors are your errors, and those heresies are your heresies; they are sins, and God calls for a parliamentary repentance from you for them this day. You are the Anabaptists, you are the Antinomians, and 'tis you that hold that all religions are to be tolerated." Baillie found fault with the Independents, that "they plead for an accommodation to other sects, as well as to themselves." The ministers of Lancashire published a paper in 1648, in which they "remonstrated against toleration, as putting a cup of poison into the hand of a child, and a sword into that of a madman; as letting loose madmen with firebrands in their hands, and appointing a city of refuge in men's consciences, for the devil to fly to; and, instead of providing for tender consciences, taking away all conscience." The ministers and elders of London met together in 1749, and published "A Vindication of the Presbyterial Government and Ministry," in which they represent "the doctrine of universal toleration as contrary to godliness, opening the door of libertinism and profaneness, and a tenet to be rejected as soul-poison." The synod meeting weekly at Sion College, and the assembly at Westminster, were equally opposed to allowing any difference of opinion among Christians, and equally prove to us that no class of men can safely be trusted with power over the consciences, the persons, or the rights of others, where religion is the subject of debate. On this subject Neal writes in his preface to the fourth volume of the original edition:—

"It is unsafe and dangerous to intrust any sort of clergy with the powers of the sword: for our Saviour's kingdom is not of this world; 'If it were,' says he, 'then would my servants fight, but now is my kingdom from hence.' The church and state should stand on a distinct basis, and their jurisdiction be agreeable to the nature of their claims; those of the church purely spiritual; and those of the state purely civil; as the king is supreme in the state, he is also head or guardian of the church in those spiritual rights that Christ has intrusted it with. When the church in former ages first assumed the secular power, it not only rivaled the state, but in a little time lifted up its head above emperors and kings, and all the potentates of the earth: the thunder of its anathemas was heard in all nations, and in her skirts was found the blood of the prophets and saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth. \* \* \* It is therefore the interest of all sovereign princes to keep their clergy within the limits that Christ has prescribed for them in the New Testament, and not to trust them with the power of inflicting corporeal pains or penalties on their subjects, which have no relation to the Christian methods of conversion."—Vol. ii, p. 103.

The only exception we take to this statement is, that it does not go far enough. The ruler has to protect the person and the property of his subjects, and neither himself meddle with their religion nor allow others to do so. On this subject we regret that our author is not so clear as we could have wished him to be.

It must not, however, be inferred from this expression of opinion that we undervalue Neal as an historian. On the other hand, his sound judgment, his patient research, and his Christian feeling, eminently qualified him for the task he was induced to undertake. His *History* is a statement of facts; he draws from records, and not from imagination. We are aware that Maddox and Grey disputed the correctness of some of his statements, and we remember too the triumphant defense he made against the former, and the equally unanswerable reply, after his death, given by his first editor to the ungentlemanly attack of the latter. The books of his opponents are never seen now, and their very names would have been long since forgotten, had not life been given to them by placing their names in these volumes, while the praise of correctness is now voluntarily conceded to him by almost all parties.

Would our limits allow, we should be glad to give a hasty sketch of the Puritans as they stand before our mental vision, adorned with the innocence and majesty attendant on them as moral heroes, in whose holy cause heaven itself took a deep interest, and the results of whose character and conduct will stamp their impress on the world through all time.

We confess that we have little sympathy with Macauley in his eloquent delineation of the character of these extraordinary men,



as contained in his well-known essay on Milton. He viewed them almost entirely through the representations of their enemies. It is true, he had judgment enough to know that much misrepresentation hovered round the subject, and he, therefore, willingly concedes to them talent, learning, and an ardent devotion to freedom; but then he describes them as "half-maddened by glorious or terrible illusions," speaks of "their groans and their whining hymns," laments "the absurdity of their manners," and "dislikes the sullen gloom of their domestic habits." To say nothing of this somewhat strange combination of contrarieties, we venture to dispute the correctness of the portrait altogether. They may have been somewhat rigid, but they were not gloomy; they were severe, and not enthusiastic. They lived in the fear of God, and "endured as seeing him who is invisible." They always acted with a view to the whole of their existence, and as remembering that what they did, bore, in its results, on millions yet unborn. Could they have foreseen their influence on posterity, and especially on this country, they could have done few things better than they did. The rejection of the reforms they proposed was the worst deed of an evil time, and their expulsion from the inclosures of the Establishment was an event which even yet will prove suicidal. We venerate their names, and admire their conduct, while we would wish to breathe their spirit, and, as far as circumstances may call for it, to imitate their example. Let our children be taught to trace the conduct of the pilgrim fathers to the principles which induced them first to labor for the freedom of the consciences of their countrymen from oppressive tyranny; and when they failed in this, the same high and holy principles induced them to brave difficulties of every kind, and even to meet death with serenity in founding a state which should secure freedom to their children, and furnish a model for the world. It is true that their views did not all exactly harmonize, and that they sometimes indulged in disputes which appeared to an indifferent spectator, both as to their objects and their results, of small moment; but in all this they showed their mental freedom, and proved to us the value and importance of free discussion.

On these, and on other accounts, we welcome these volumes to our own library, and cordially recommend them to our friends. We have indeed greatly mistaken the matter, if they will not prove more than acceptable to the whole Christian church. We should greatly rejoice if the acceptance with which these volumes shall meet should induce Mr. Choules to give us an edition of "Brook's Lives of the Puritans," and "Palmer's Non-conformist's Memorial."

Few authors have been more favored in having suitable editors for the successive issues of their works than has Neal. It has been our happiness personally to know them all, and we have not unfrequently remarked on the somewhat singular fact that all have been Baptists, belonging, however, to different sections of that body. In 1793, when Dr. Toulmin published his edition of Neal, and added his invaluable notes and supplementary matter, he was the minister of the General Baptist Church at Taunton, in Somersetshire. This was a situation admirably adapted to the study and research for which his task called. He removed not long after to succeed Dr. Priestley at Birmingham, a position he occupied with high reputation till his death. Few things connected with our boyish days are more indelibly impressed on our memory than seeing the worthy doctor, tall and portly, as doctors should be, with his dress made court fashion, a large white bush wig, a three-cornered hat, and a gold-headed cane. He was the object of great reverence, ay, and of love too, even on the part of children; for whether he met them in the streets or saw them in the houses of their fathers, he would have a kind word to say to them, and kindly stroking down their hair, would utter some pious petition or some fervent wish that would be sure to attach veneration to his name as long as his affectionate little friends should live. His patience, learning, and candor produced additions to Neal for which every reader will be grateful.

Very different, in many respects, was the editor of the next edition, published, we think, about twenty years since in London. This was William Jones, the well-known historian of the Waldenses. Connected with the Scotch Baptists, he has always breathed too much of their party spirit, and cherished a lamentable degree of bitterness toward those who have differed from him. His contributions were very small, and consisted rather in correcting a few names and dates than in anything else. Mr. Jones, however, on other accounts, deserves high esteem for his general labors in the department of ecclesiastical history; and it is alike creditable to him and to the British sovereign that he enjoys at eighty-four, almost blind and friendless, a small annuity for life. We cannot but add in this connection that it is disgraceful to the religious, and especially to the dissenting community of England, that such a man should need the paltry sum of twenty-five pounds a year from such a quarter. But so, alas, have they treated their best writers in the great controversy from the days of the martyred De Laune till now.

We trust that it may be very long before we are called to say all that we might wish to say of the gentleman who has prepared the

edition of Neal now on our table. He is known to belong to what are called the regular Baptists of this country, and his extensive reading, liberal spirit, and good taste have well qualified him to correct the text of his author, and to add, from the many excellent general and ecclesiastical works recently published in London, important and valuable information. This he, like Dr. Toulmin, has done in the shape of notes, and gives full evidence that he has neither spared labor nor expense to make the work all that it ought to be. As the volumes proceed from the press of the Harpers, it is quite unnecessary to say that the printing is done with great accuracy, that considerable pains have been taken to secure correct portraits of some of the leading persons introduced in the work, or that it is brought out at the lowest possible price. The public is brought under a heavy debt of gratitude to this enterprising house for so many standard English works, published in cheap form; especially, as persons of small means are hereby enabled to avail themselves of the advantages of important and useful works, which would otherwise only be found in the libraries of the wealthy.

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- ART. V.—1. *Observations in Europe, principally in France and Great Britain.* By JOHN P. DURBIN, D. D., President of Carlisle College. In two volumes 8vo. Harper & Brothers. 1844.
2. *Quinet L'Ultramontanisme.* Paris, 1844.
3. *Romanism not Republicanism.* By CIVIS.
4. *Catholicism compatible with Republican Government and in full Accordance with popular Institutions.* By FENELON. New-York, 1844.
5. *Constitution and Address of the Christian Alliance.* New-York, 1843.
6. *Letter of Pope Gregory XVI., May 8th, 1844, on the same.*

AMONG the publications of the closing year, the discerning public has already assigned a conspicuous place to Dr. Durbin's late work, the title of which appears at the head of this article. All classes of readers may here meet with something entertaining or instructive; and the impartiality and kindness of the writer will make, no doubt with them all, an ample atonement for his few mistakes in point of fact, and for the unsoundness of some of his conclusions. On our part we acknowledge that we felt particularly interested in the graphic account which he has given us of the pre-



sent condition and prospects of the Romish Church, of the disastrous issue of the contest which steeped all Europe for twenty-five years in blood, and more than all, of the *true* nature of that contest, and its calamitous consequences. These subjects, which Dr. Durbin handles with skill and precision in the last chapter of the first, and the twenty-second of the second volume, occupy the most prominent place in the history of our times, and absorb the larger share of the meditations and feelings of the present generation: for they refer to the greatest and most ancient question of all human societies, the question of conviction or authority, of liberty or despotism, of self-government or slavery for the body and soul of mankind.

Therefore, if we can in this article throw some additional light on the subject of Romanism, its strength, tendency, and objects, and convey some information as to the means most likely to arrest, to counteract its progress, and eventually to put it down, we shall not stand in need of an apology to our readers for its unusual length.

The twenty-second chapter of the second volume, above alluded to, exhibits the statistics, and treats of the internal vigor of the Romish Church. We give below, in a condensed form, the statistical account which is to be found in the Roman Catholic Almanac for 1844,\* instead of the statistics of our author; and to

\* The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac for 1844, printed at Baltimore, contains the following general statistics of the Romish Church:—

Our present most holy father, Gregory XVI., (Mauro Capellari,) was born at Belluno in the Venetian states, (the government of Venice,) 18th Sept., 1765, and elected pope 2d Feb., 1831. The sacred college consists of sixty-five cardinals, of whom six are bishops, forty-seven priests, and twelve deacons.

The number of patriarchs is twelve, of archbishops one hundred and forty-seven, of bishops five hundred and eighty-four, of coadjutors, auxiliaries, suffragans, &c., ninety-five, of dioceses seven hundred and thirty-one, of vicariates seventy-one, of prefectures nine, and of missionaries three thousand two hundred and sixty-seven, with a population of 162,439,444, distributed as follows\* :—

	Dioceses.		Under Missions.
In Europe over	577	124,993,961	3,413,584=128,407,545
“ Asia “	59	1,155,618	1,577,000= 2,732,618
“ Africa “	9	758,571	231,200= 989,771
“ America “	79	25,819,210	1,380,300= 27,199,510
“ Oceanica “	7	3,050,000	60,000= 3,110,000
Total	731	155,777,360	6,662,084=162,439,444

\* There is some slight mistake in the *distribution* of this population, which we have no means at hand to rectify. According to the Times (London) of October last, the population of the Roman Catholic Church amounts to 200,000,000.

complete his picture of the awful size and perfect organization of that church, we must add, (see *L'Ultramontanisme, par M. Quinet*, published last summer in Paris,) 1st. That the Jesuits have succeeded in their endeavors to draw into their plans most of the prelates, and to communicate to all the monastic orders of both sexes the spirit of their own society. 2d. That the higher secular clergy of almost all Roman Catholic countries are striving to break off their dependence on the civil powers, for the purpose of placing themselves altogether under the power of Rome. Thus the Irish clergy, who twenty years ago were anxious, according to Mr. O'Connell, to get their support from the state treasury, refuse now beforehand all offers that the government might feel disposed to make them. The bishop of the Canaries, in his work "*Independencia Constante de la Iglesia Hispana, 1843*," advocates in behalf of the Spanish bishops the complete separation of the church from the state, for the purpose of vesting all *temporal* and spiritual authority over it in the pope. In Germany, Goerres maintains the same doctrine in regard to the German bishops, and the French prelates have already so completely gone over to Rome that, as M. Quinet affirms, the Gallican Church is nothing more than a name.—*L'Eglise Gallicane n'existe plus-que de nom.*

So that we must now consider the Romish clergy, secular\* and regular, as a well-appointed, one-minded army, preparing itself, in the unconquerable spirit of Gregory VII., to renew for the last

The number of priests, friars, monks, and nuns, is not stated; but for the United States we find in the said almanac the following summary:—

Dioceses in the United States 21 : apostolic vicarate 1 : number of bishops 17 : bishops elect 8 : number of priests 634 : increase in the number of clergymen, since the publication of the almanac for 1843, 55 : number of churches 611 : other stations 461 : ecclesiastical seminaries 19 : clerical students 261 : literary institutions for young men 16 : female academies 48 : elementary schools, *passim* throughout most of the dioceses : Catholic periodicals 15 : population 1,300,000. Late accounts carry this population up to 2,000,000. In 1836 there were in the United States 12 bishops, 1 archbishop, 341 priests, 300 churches, 10 colleges, 31 convents, and 600,000 of the Roman Catholic denomination.—*New-York Herald.*

\* The secular clergy of missionary countries, such as Great Britain, the Low Countries, several provinces of Germany and Turkey, the Canadas, Texas, Antilles, Hayti, &c., without exception : of other countries this is generally true, as to Ireland, the United States, South America, Belgium, Switzerland, and some other : as to the rest, this is true to a great extent in regard to the prelates of France, Spain, and of some provinces of Italy and Germany ; but not in regard to the inferior clergy, whose most intelligent and pious members are strongly averse to the politico-religious despotism of Rome.

time the contest for the supremacy of the church over the state, that is to say, for the pope's universal monarchy.

That this is the true object to which the present extraordinary exertions of the Roman court ultimately tend, no reasonable doubt can for a moment be entertained. The notions of the Romish clergy concerning the nature of the church and of their sacred office, and their very rule of faith, lead them naturally and irresistibly to strive for the subjugation of the temporal to the spiritual world. Gregory the Great said that "the kingdom of the earth *should* be subservient to the kingdom of heaven." His successors in the pontificate accepted the idea contained in this proposition as a positive precept and rule of action, and Thomas Aquinas worked it into a formal argument, the conclusion whereof is, that "the secular power is subject to the spiritual, as the body is subject to the soul;" and hence that "in the pope is the summit of both spiritual and temporal power." Hundreds of theologians adopted this doctrine, popes carried it out in practice, and œcumenical councils converted it into an article of faith. So that Baronius could truly and justly maintain "that there can be no doubt (with a Romanist) but that the civil principality is subject to the sacerdotal:" in other words, "that God has made the political government subject to the dominion of the spiritual church." In fact, this doctrine of the supremacy of the church, or of the pope, as understood and acted upon by the popes themselves, from Gregory II. in 770 to the present day, is a logical deduction, a necessary consequence of the fundamental principles of the church, and the Jesuits, the object of whose existence is to carry it out, deserve the praise, at least, of an undaunted consistency.

Nor does the modification adopted by Bellarmine,\* Benedict XIV., and their school, affect the essence of this doctrine. According to

\* "Bellarmine does not go so far as to ascribe to the pope a temporal power derived from divine right; but so much the more unhesitatingly did Bellarmine attribute to him an *indirect* right. The spiritual power has, he affirms, the right, and the duty to impose a curb on the temporal, whenever that becomes injurious to the interests of religion: . . . if a law were necessary to the salvation of souls, and the sovereign hesitated to enact it, or if a law were injurious to the salvation of souls, and the sovereign was obstinately determined to maintain it, the pope is certainly justified in ordaining the one, and abolishing the other. . . . As a general rule, the pope could not certainly dethrone a prince; but should it become necessary to the salvation of souls, he possesses the right of changing the government, or of transferring it from one ruler to another. . . . In one of his works he enumerates more than seventy writers of different countries by whom the authority of the pope is regarded in the same light as by himself."—*Ranke's History of the Popes*, vol. i, p. 408.



this class of Romish divines, the supreme pontiff, in the use of an infallible discretion, exerts a temporal power *indirectly*, viz., whenever the good of the church demands it. But it is easy to understand that the sphere of this power, though *indirect*, will always be as extensive as that of the power *direct*: for it is the pope alone who determines on the necessity and extension of its use under the boundless and indefinable cloak of the salvation of souls.

That the court of Rome does not generally exert it in our days, is no argument to disprove its existence, or to infer therefrom its relinquishment. Rome put it forth whenever she could command obedience; and we saw, a few years ago, the present pope attempting to wield it, with an unexampled absoluteness and dictatorship, against Portugal and Spain,\* while he crouched most abjectly at the feet of the Russian emperor, who is crushing to death the Polish Church.†

But are there, in the present condition of the Romish Church and of Christendom, reasons to believe that the clergy will at last come out of the impending contest victorious?

The past may be a light to our feet in the darkness of the future. The Roman, the Frankish, and the German emperors took the church under their patronage for the advancement of their own political interests: and the church every time began her connection with the empire as a grateful servant, continued it as a zealous partner, and ended it as an imperious mistress; subjecting to herself, for a time, at least, the state to which she was indebted for her very existence. Constantine and Theodosius the Great, in the fourth century; Pepin and Charlemagne, in the eighth; Otho and Henry III., in the tenth and eleventh, called in the priesthood to their assistance, and the priesthood as a reward for its services compelled their successors to vacate their thrones, or to be in their turn its servants. In the thirteenth century Rome wielded an almost omnipotent authority. "A king of England received his kingdom from her as a fief: a king of Aragon transferred his to the apostle Peter; and Naples was actually given over by the pope to a foreign house." The aspirations of Gregory VII. were then near their accomplishment. But their exorbitancy forced open the eyes of the laity, and as vapors against the rising sun, they began rapidly to vanish. In the beginning of the fourteenth century Philip the Fair

\* See, for instance, the allocution, March 2, 1841. Well and truly the Spanish government, in their manifesto of July 30, 1841, averred that never has the holy see, from the time of Gregory VII. until now, maintained such high pretensions, or made them known in a manner so impudent and so reckless.

† See the allocution, July, 1841.

answered the pope's bulls of excommunication by a *slap*: a little time after, the Germans resolved to secure the independence of the empire against all aggressions of Rome, and took a common stand against the principles of the Papal policy; and not long after, Edward III. refused to pay the tribute promised to Rome by his predecessors, and in the protection afforded to Wickliff he may be said to have aimed at the total destruction of the Roman power. Toward the close of the fifteenth century Rome had fallen so low in the estimation of mankind, that her pettiest neighbors themselves "obeyed the pope's commands just so far as they had a mind and no further."

The tendency of the Papal system, and the true character of the hierarchy, were then fully and openly before the eyes of the people. Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Julius II., Leo X., and Paul III., drove laymen and clergymen to look for redress of grievances to a radical church reformation.

No doubt can be entertained but that, had the people of Europe been allowed to carry on their quarrels with the Roman Church, Luther would have seen with his own eyes the utter demolition of that power which he had so terribly shaken. But there were the emperor, the king of France, and many princes and noble houses, whose power and privileges arose and grew up with the Romish Church, and could be preserved only with her preservation. The love of power and money, which had characterized that church from her very cradle, ruled those princes also: an alliance was soon formed, which, putting on the garb of an extraordinary sanctimoniousness, and drowning all symptoms of dissent in blood, drove back the Reformation, enfeebled by internal strifes and worldly pursuits, and was at one time within an inch of crushing it everywhere, and of blasting thereby all hope of individual and social improvement for ever. Rome again was for half a century the soul, the head of the monarchs who swayed the destinies of Europe, and the thunders of the Vatican roared again as they had done in the days of Frederic II. But how transitory this effulgence of glory, this show of a renovated power! The last political drama in which the Papacy played a part worthy of her younger days was the peace of Verona in 1598. Half a century later she had already fallen so low, that the monarchs who had profited most by her spiritual and pecuniary assistance, signed the peace of Westphalia (1648,) on terms which the pope had beforehand reprobated and forbidden. In the peace of the Pyrenees (1664) the pope had no part, and his envoys were not even admitted to the conferences; and at the peace of Utrecht (1713,) countries which the pope had looked upon, and

for centuries had been considered as his fiefs, were allotted to new families without even consulting him. Clement XIII. durst not publish his allocution (1762,) in condemnation of the decree of the parliament of Paris for the suppression of the Jesuits. Clement XIV. was compelled to sacrifice to the hatred of mankind these same most faithful champions of the Papacy; Pius VI. closed his days a prisoner in France (1779,) and his successor, Pius VII., having witnessed the downfall of his temporal kingdom, consented to reside in Paris (1813) as the *primate of the Catholic Church*. The Papacy had, at length, amid the neglect of all her temporal and spiritual subjects, breathed her last, when a sudden unlooked-for turn of the wheel of fortune brings the French revolution to the grave; the cause of civil and religious liberty succumbs in the struggles against the despots of Europe, and Popery is restored to life and power in 1814.

What does this historical muster prove?

It proves that the exaltation of the Romish Church is the work of politics: that Rome always abuses the power she derives, directly or indirectly, from the state, both against the people and their rulers: and that the excesses of this abuse of power bring her down to her original impotency, thence to rise again the moment popular claims endanger the *divine right* of oligarchs and kings. Rome has no inherent power of self-preservation: left alone she would rend herself asunder in half a century; the history of her schisms is an obvious and undeniable evidence of the probability of this result. Her unity is a forced cohesion from outward compulsion: for the temporal powers keep her system together to strengthen themselves against the interests of their own subjects. Pius IV. said, "that the church could not subsist without the support of kings." History, and his own experience, established the truth of this acknowledgment. On the other hand, Pius the Fifth rung unceasingly in the ears of his kingly friends that "a union with the church was indispensable to their safety," and the transactions of the great powers of Europe since 1798 prove that they are firm believers in this article, at least, of the Romish faith.

The decisions of the two infallibles above referred to are the two hinges on which turn the politics of Europe in reference to the Romish Church; and they give us the key to the mystery which is developing itself under our own eyes to our astonishment and apprehension.

Dr. Durbin, in the last chapter of vol. i, states the true ground, and the results of the controversy which was put an end to on the battle-field of Waterloo. This chapter alone is worth more, in this country, than the cost of the whole work, and to it we advise those



among our readers to apply who want yet to learn the intimate connection between civil and religious despotism and the truth of the familiar Roman saw, "that spiritual things follow the course of temporal things."—*Le cose spirituali sequono il corso delle cose temporali.* We will add to Dr. Durbin's remarks only a few facts and observations.

The victory over Napoleon, by the four great allied powers, of whom three were anticatholic, restored Pius VII. to Rome and independence; to these three anticatholic sovereigns alone, who were then met in London, was the wish of the pope to recover the entire Papal states first submitted. In the allocution in which Pius VII. communicated to his cardinals the fortunate results of his negotiations, he expressly mentions "the services of the sovereigns who do not belong to the Church of Rome—the emperor of Russia, who had taken his rights into consideration with peculiar attention, the king of Sweden, the prince regent of England, and the king of Prussia, who had declared in his favor during the whole course of the negotiations."

The restoration of the pope was immediately followed by the restoration of the Jesuits. There is no doubt but this Papal measure was approved of beforehand by the great powers of Europe, England included. The witty and subtil prince De Ligne had, in his rage at the approaching independence of Europe, exclaimed, "*Je l'ai dit, il y a long temps, que si l'on n'avait pas chassé les Jesuites l'on ne verrait pas ce maudit esprit d'indépendance,*" &c.—I have said so long ago, that if the Jesuits had not been driven away, we would not now see this cursed spirit of independence, &c. The monarchs of Europe, convinced of the truth of this remark, thought that the Jesuits were likely to succeed in putting out that *spirit of independence* which had blazed during their suppression; and therefore they opened at once to them their several states, and thus reversed the sentence which their predecessors had repeated thirty-nine times, with the assent of all the world, against an *order* as infamous in conduct as inimical to the peace and the rational improvement of mankind. But what is most surprising in this transaction is, that it should have been agreed to by any Protestant power, when that institution was originally calculated for the struggle with Protestantism, and is still exclusively adapted to the purpose of building the Church of Rome on the ruins of the Protestant faith. It arose for war, it fell when peace between the parties rendered it useless, and is now revived for the accomplishment of its original object by those powers who represent the Reformed Church, and principally by that very power which was once the main

pillar of the Reformation, and ought ever to have been the bulwark of religious freedom all the world over.

The restoration of the idiotic kings of southern Europe was followed by the re-establishment of the worst institutions and practices of the Papal Church, in the expectation that they would powerfully contribute to crush the domestic foes by whom these monarchs saw themselves surrounded. Ferdinand of Spain, in 1814, overturned the constitution of 1812,\* which he had most solemnly sworn, on ascending the throne of his fathers, to support, then recalled the Jesuits, and reopened the tribunals of the nuncio and the inquisition. Sardinia and the other states of Italy opened again the old convents, endowed them with national lands and pensions on the state treasury, restored to the nobles and the priests the monopoly of offices and education, and abolished all French improvements save that of taxation. In France the chambers of 1815 saw the necessity of restoring to the clergy their rights of interference in the state, communes, and families, in public business and public instruction, while Prince De Metternich recommended to the German states assembled in congress at Frankfort (1815) to make use of their utmost diligence in order not only to stop the onward march of the world, but to push it back to the position it occupied in the feudal ages.

This legitimate reaction, however, was too violently opposed to that spirit of the *Romance* nations, which had been developed under totally different auspices, to achieve a prompt or easy victory. A revolution broke out in Spain, Piedmont, and Naples: the states of the church were on the eve of a general insurrection, when Austria and France, commissioned by the other great powers, England herself consenting, ran again to the assistance of the restored

\* The cortes met him (March 3d, 1814) at the gates of the kingdom, and their president, placing into his hands the constitution of 1812, addressed him in the following language: "The nation, who might have chosen to herself a chief from among her bravest warriors, gives back to you a crown she conquered again for you, but without you. Never for a moment forget, sir, that you owe it to the generosity of the people. They do not subject your authority to any other restraint than this constitution, adopted by their representatives. The day in which you should break it, shall witness, also, the breaking of this solemn contract by which you are made a king."

And the king promised and swore on the Gospels, marched straight away to Madrid, drew into his hands the government, and, on the 10th of the following month of May, dissolved the cortes, arrested the deputies in the dead of the night, dragged them from their beds to his dungeons, and abolished the constitution. *Pius VII. had annulled his oath, and released him of all his sworn duties toward the Spanish nation.*

sovereigns, and stifled all commotions and revolutions in their birth.

And what was the court of Rome doing during these events?

The great monarchs of Europe, assembled in congress at Troppau (1820,) and thence at Laybach, summoned before them the old king of Naples, who, after a little schooling at the hands of Metternich, was admitted culprit-like at the bar to receive with thanks the outrageous sentence of undoing what he and his son the regent had done, and freely sworn to do for the welfare of their subjects, namely, to put down by dint of bayonets the constitutional government of Naples. The temporal despots took upon themselves to overcome the people's aversion to Austrian and Russian regiments, and the *spiritual despot*, the pope, removed the difficulty arising from the conscience of the king and the regent, by releasing them from their voluntary oath to their confiding people.

On this occasion the same monarchs laid down, without any further equivocation, the true principles of the policy of the Holy Alliance. They declared to the world, "that as they had delivered the European continent from military despotism, so it was their duty to deliver it also from the misrule of revolt and crime; and that they exercised but an incontestible right in providing in common for their safety, against those states in which the overthrow of the government endangered the existence of all *lawful* constitutions and governments;" and in their circular, May 2d, 1821, they said, "that all useful and necessary changes in the legislation and administration of the states must originate exclusively with the free will of those whom God holds responsible for the power with which he has intrusted them." "Therefore," adds the Prussian circular, June 5th, 1821, "they will always mark rebellion wherever it may appear and they can reach it, they will repress, condemn, and combat its works."

The principle laid down by this sovereign conference, of *armed intervention*, as explained to the world in the above-quoted, and other published documents, was by the allied powers declared to apply to *all nations*. That Great Britain herself was considered as under the tutelar supremacy of the Holy Alliance, the noted circular of the British government, January 19th, 1821, has placed beyond controversy. The cabinet of that country openly protested against the principle of *armed intervention* asserted by the Holy Alliance at Troppau, and then again at Laybach; but secretly encouraged the three despots of the north to carry it out against Italy, "and while the scaffold was raised in Turin, and the tribunal opened at Naples, while nations goaded to madness by sufferings and op-



pression were called on to the judgment-seat of runaway kings, restored to their thrones by foreign bayonets, the organ of the English government, the *Courier*, applauded the avenging tyrants of Italy, calling on them *to beware of unwise mercy*, and reminded them that *indemnity for the past and security for the future demanded blood.*"

"Ay, shed blood enough, old Renault."

These same powers assembled again at Verona in 1822, *to provide in common for their safety against Spain*, (for having in 1820 reinstated the constitution which the king had in 1814 sworn to maintain inviolate, Alexander had in 1813 caused to be published and sworn to by all the Spaniards residing in his empire; Prussia had approved in 1814; and Austria had in 1820 determined to respect; and whose only guilt consisted in having brought about the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the suppression of the inquisition, the gallows, and the censure of the press,) stipulated with the pope a treaty, October 22d, the three first articles of which are as follows:—

ART. I. The high contracting powers being convinced that the system of representative governments is equally as incompatible with monarchical principles, as the maxim of the sovereignty of the people with the divine right of kings, engage mutually in the most solemn manner to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative governments in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced into those countries where it is not known.

ART. II. As it cannot be doubted that the liberty of the press is the most powerful means used by the pretended supporters of the rights of nations to the detriment of those of princes, the high contracting parties promise reciprocally to adopt all proper means to suppress it.

ART. III. The contracting powers offer in common their thanks to the pope for all he has done already in their behalf, and *solicit his constant co-operation in their design to subjugate the nations.*

This treaty reveals what the instrument of the Holy Alliance, September 26th, 1824, had hidden from the people's eyes in a haze of indefinite words, the league of the governments of Europe against the liberties of mankind, and tells clearly enough (though we shall never be able to discover all the secret workings of Rome) what was the object the despots of Europe aimed at in the restoration of the Papacy, and the condition annexed to its preservation.

But we shall not greatly err in affirming that their eyes were, even before the congress of Verona, turned toward these United States. The Jesuits, who, at the time of the suppression of their order in 1773, had found a refuge in the dominions of the empress Catha-

rine, were expelled therefrom in 1820 by the emperor Alexander. By the account of the Jesuits themselves, it would seem that the Russian cabinet had resolved on their expulsion immediately after their order had been revived in Catholic Europe, and that the delay was owing to the reluctance of the emperor to grieve the general of the order, his personal friend. However this may be, it is a fact that the Jesuits hid their humiliation under the assurance that *God in his providence called them to North America, where the nature of the government allowed them free scope for their usefulness.* In 1825 the ministry of Charles X. declared that the conversion of the republicans of America to Roman Catholicism was of the highest importance not only to religion, but to the political condition of Europe. In 1828 Frederick Schlegel, in a series of lectures delivered in Vienna before the court, and the highest nobility of the Austrian empire, proved most conclusively that "the political revolutions to which European governments had been so long subjected from the popular desire for liberty, are the natural effects of the Protestant Reformation;" that "as Protestantism favors republicanism, so Popery naturally supports monarchical power;" and that "the great nursery of these destructive (democratic) principles, the great revolutionary school of France, and the rest of Europe, is *North America.*"

In the following year the imperial court organized a society under the patronage of the emperor *for promoting the greater activity of Catholic missions in the United States.* This is the famous *Leopoldine Foundation*, warmly supported by the imperial family and the prime minister, Prince de Metternich; and to this society is chiefly owing the rapid extension which the Romish Church has during the last eight or ten years acquired in this country.\* Whoever does not perceive a connection between these transactions, and supposes that the creation of the Leopoldine Society is not the execution of a design formed at least as early as the arrival of the Jesuits in this country in 1820, has a very scanty knowledge of the manœuvres of the European cabinets, and none at all of the far-seeing policy of the Jesuits.

While the royalists of France were straining every nerve to place the Gallican Church at the feet of Rome, (1815,) the old antipathy to the hierarchy broke forth in a loud war cry against the new con-

\* This society went into operation May 13th, 1829. "Every member of this religious institution engages daily to offer one *pater* and *ave*, with the addition, 'St. Leopold pray for us,' and every week to contribute a *kreutzer*," (about one cent.) His holiness, Pope Leo XII., did grant to its members by letter, dated Jan. 30th, 1829, *full indulgence and remission of all their sins, &c.*

cordat, defeated the plans of the court, and laid the foundations of a conspiracy which, in 1830, overturned the throne, and with it the hierarchical party and the Jesuitical institutions of that country.

But Rome, unfortunate in Russia, and unsuccessful in France, had great cause of rejoicing in the victory her party gained in England in 1829, and a still greater cause in the splendid and unexpected triumph she obtained in Belgium in 1831. The extinction of the nationality of Poland is very likely to draw after it the total annihilation of the Roman Catholic Church in the Polish provinces under Russia. Gregory XVI., at the request of the emperor Nicholas, (who had but two years before broken his most solemn oath to the Poles and provoked their fatal insurrection,) ordered the Polish bishops and clergy to lay down their arms and die the death of the martyrs. Poland fell, and the *grateful* emperor in 1839 brought over to the Russo-Greek Church nearly two millions of his Polish Roman Catholic subjects; transferred the Roman Catholic seminary of Wilna to St. Petersburg, and is unceremoniously conferring the best Roman Catholic bishoprics on bishops of his church. In Prussia the government and the Romish hierarchy, who, since the restoration, appeared united, but which soon after fell asunder, in 1838 broke out into violent and systematic hostility. The pope, in conjunction with the two archbishops of the kingdom, set himself in opposition to an ordinance of the king intended to regulate, in a religious point of view, the domestic relations of the mixed population of the kingdom. But while this opposition of the Prussian prelates grew so obstinate that the king had to resort to the significant experiment of putting them in prison, the emperor of Austria found no difficulty whatever with the pope, and no opposition from his clergy in the execution of a law by him afterward enacted on the same subject, and diametrically opposed to the doctrine and pretensions of the court of Rome.

In 1831 an insurrection broke out in Modena, which in a moment extended itself to the greatest part of the Roman state, while at the same time the dukedom of Parma was in tumult, and the ex-empress Maria Lousia fled into Lombardy. The allied powers did not lose a day in putting it down. In January, 1832, the eastern districts of the Papal states were again in insurrection, and the slaughter of forty inhabitants of Forli, old men, women, and children, drove the people of the country nearly mad. Before the end of the month the revolt was again suppressed by Austrian grenadiers.

The revolutions of Spain and Portugal proved highly disastrous



to Rome. The parties at present in power in these countries are anxious to secure the support of the Roman court; but it is impossible to conjecture from the present aspect of things what complexion they will at last come to. Since 1837 the French government has shown a decided inclination toward the Romish Church, a decided opposition to Protestantism, and a total disregard of the constitution of the country. In Italy, besides the conspiracy which was, in 1833, suppressed in Piedmont with a great effusion of blood, new insurrections broke out last summer, of very little consequence in themselves, but very important as indications of the disaffection of the people. In Switzerland the dissensions between the different creeds grow every day bitterer and deeper, and threaten serious evils to the welfare and integrity of the Swiss confederacy. In general, wherever the Jesuits have gained a foothold, the same results are now to be perceived that in former times invariably followed their steps: the line of separation between Popery and Protestantism becomes more distinct; discord and strife spread from the pulpit and the confessional to the hearth of the palace and the cottage, and superstition and infidelity supplant Christianity.

In conclusion, the Romish Church is now in league with the Italian princes, with Austria, with the present governments of France, Spain, and Portugal, against the people, and with the rabble of all Protestant countries against their several governments. There the prelates and their presses preach the divine right of kings, here the sovereignty of the people; there the connection of church and state, here their separation; there an absolute exclusiveness, and therefore against freedom of conscience, of the press, of education, here freedom and tolerance in everything, and to the utmost extent. However, when the head of the church speaks *ex cathedra*, and her prelates in *their common name*, no deviation, no change from the old, despotic, and sanguinary laws and discipline of the church is under any circumstances admitted, or indirectly acknowledged. "Beloved son in Christ," wrote Clement XIII., on the 30th of Jan., 1759, to Count Daun, on the occasion of his victory at Hochkirch over the king of Prussia, "as . . . thou fightest against heretics who adhere to the most abominable errors with more persevering wickedness than the infidels themselves, we impart to thee the blessing of Heaven, that . . . thou mayest exterminate heresy, the pestilential stench of which is engendered by hell. The destroying angel shall fight by thy side; he shall annihilate the infamous race of adherents of Luther and Calvin. . . . May thine arm ever reek with the blood of these impious wretches! Put the axe to the root of this tree which has borne such accursed fruit, and let the northern

regions of Germany be brought back to the true faith by sword, fire, and blood !”

“No one who is ever so little versed in history,” says Pius VII., in his instructions to the nuncio residing at Vienna, in 1805, “can be ignorant of the sentences of deposition pronounced by the pontiffs and by councils against princes obstinate in heresy. Indeed, we have fallen upon times so calamitous and of such great humiliation for the spouse of Christ, that it is neither possible to practice, nor expedient to appeal to *those most holy maxims*, and that she is forced to suspend the course of her *just severity* against the enemies and rebels to the faith. But if she cannot exercise her right of deposing from their principalities, and declaring the partisans of heresy to have forfeited their goods, can she ever suffer herself to be despoiled of her own domains in order to enrich them ! What a subject for derision would not the church then give to the heretics themselves, and to infidels, who, insulting her grief, would say that means had at last been found to render her *tolerant* !”

“Let our persecutors, then, for once learn,” exclaims the same pope, in his bull, dated June 10th, 1809, excommunicating Napoleon, “that the law of Jesus Christ has subjected them to our authority and to *our throne* ; *for we too bear the sceptre*, and *we can say that our person is much superior to theirs*, at least unless they would have the spirit subjected to the flesh, and the interests of earth take precedence of those of heaven.”

In a circular, addressed by the said pope to his cardinals in 1808, we meet among other decisions the following : “The government of France demands that we shall allow the free public exercise of all forms of worship. This article is opposed to the canons, the councils, to the Catholic religion, and on account of the fatal consequences which would result from it, to the tranquillity and happiness of the state. We have rejected it.”

In 1815 the above-named pontiff protested formally, before the congress of Vienna, against the sixteenth article of the act of confederation, granting equal rights to the Christian confessions in Germany. In 1818 he succeeded with the king of Naples in inserting in their new concordat an article by which “the Catholic, apostolic, Roman religion is the only religion of the kingdom,” . . . and is to be “maintained there with all the rights and prerogatives appertaining to it according to the divine institutions, and *the canonical sanctions*.”

Gregory XVI., in his bull, August 15th, 1832, says, “From that polluted fountain of indifference flows that absurd and erroneous doctrine, or rather raving, in favor and in defense of liberty of con-

science, for which most pestilential error," &c.\* "Hither tends that worst, and never-sufficiently-to-be-execrated and detested liberty of the press, for the diffusion of all manner of writings, which some so loudly contend for and so actively promote."

"Hence that pest of all others most to be dreaded in a state, unbridled liberty of opinion, licentiousness of speech, and a lust of novelty," &c.

"Nor can we augur more consoling consequences to religion and to government from the zeal of some to separate the church from the state, and to burst the bonds which unite the priesthood to the empire."

And in his last bull, May 8th, 1844, he avers that Christian liberty is but another name for an insane indifference to all religion, declares that it is an enormous sin against God and his church to aid in the promotion of liberty of conscience, and calls upon the most influential sovereigns of Italy to co-operate with him in frustrating all efforts to procure to the people religious freedom. "For," he adds, "it is most evident from past experience that there are no means more certain of rendering people disobedient to their princes than rendering them indifferent to religion under the mask of religious liberty, inasmuch as *once religiously free, they will soon be politically free also.*"

Immediately after the foundation of the kingdom of the Netherlands, the vicar-general of the bishopric of Ghent, in October, 1814, presented to the congress of Vienna a memorial, in which, among

\* In compliance with the doctrine laid down by this bull against the liberty of conscience, the Gazette de France published the following letter:—

Paris, September 10th, 1832.

The undersigned, editors of the *Avenir*, and members of the *Council of the General Agency for the defense of Religious Liberty*, present in Paris,

Being convinced by the encyclical letter of our sovereign pontiff, Gregory XVI., dated August 15th, 1832, that they could not go on in their labors without placing themselves in opposition to the solemn will of him whom God has charged with the government of his church; they believe it to be their duty, as Catholics, to declare that in respectful submission to the supreme authority of the vicar of Jesus Christ, they leave the arena in which they have loyally fought for the space of two years. They entreat earnestly all their friends to give a like example of Christian submission.

Consequently, first, the *Avenir*, which was provisionally discontinued on the 13th of November, 1831, shall appear no more. Second, *The General Agency for the Defense of Religious Liberty* is thus dissolved, &c.

Signed, { F. de la Mennais, F. Gerbert, C. De Coux,  
          { Carlo de Montalembert, Lacordaire.



other extravagant requisitions, they demanded solid guaranties for the "only true religion," and described the Protestant confession as being merely tolerated, claimed for religious corporations a right of association independent of the state, &c. The Belgian bishops, on their part, pronounced in their *jugement doctrinel* a public condemnation of the oath required by the Netherlands constitution. They declared themselves inimical to the equality of rights granted to all religious opinions and societies, . . . refused to take the constitutional oath, denied absolution to those who did take it, and gave an anticipatory sanction to rebellion. The bishop of Ghent, Duke de Broglie, publicly declared it to be a sin to pray for a Protestant prince.

The following injunction is to be found in the pastoral letter of the Belgian bishops, published in August, 1843: "If any one approaches you who does not profess the doctrines of Jesus Christ, (meaning of course the doctrines of Popery,) receive him not into your houses, neither salute him: for whoever acknowledges such persons is a participator in their wickedness."

The change which the cortes of Spain, in 1837, made in the eleventh article of the constitution of 1812, relating to religion, arrayed against them almost all the prelates and monastic orders of the country. The old article was in these words: "The religion of the Spanish nation is, and shall be perpetually, the Catholic, apostolic, Roman, only true. The nation protects it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other." The amended article runs in this way: "The nation obliges itself to maintain the worship and ministry of the Catholic religion which the Spaniards profess."

The new constitution of the republic of the Equador, in its sixth article, declares "that the religion of the republic is Roman Catholic and apostolic, with the exclusion of every other public worship;" and the bishop of Quito in his pastoral letter, 1843, says, on the subject of this article, "Yes, beloved diocesans, they are pleased to explain the aforesaid article sixth by giving us to know that far from protecting toleration, which we justly feared, it confirms and strengthens the law which authorizes the prelates to have cognizance of causes of faith, as did the extinguished tribunal of the inquisition," &c.

In every point of controversy with the Protestant world, Rome maintains, now with a greater pertinacity than ever, the same opinions which she defended against it three centuries ago; nay, in some of these contested doctrines the divergence has been, since the Council of Trent, growing wider: for instance, on the subject of

sin, grace, justification, and the church, the Bull Unigenitus is further from Protestantism than the canons of Trent: the right and duty of every man to study the Scriptures is now, by the last pope's bull, more absolutely denied than by Benedict XIV. and Pius VI.: the opinion of the sinless conception of the blessed Virgin Mary is by a recent decree of Rome converted to an article of faith: the worship of the present day is more idolatrous than it was in the fifteenth century: the reigning pontiff, even in his bulls, presents to his flock the Holy Virgin as the only being worthy of their confidence and supplications;\* and we have just read with amazement that, in a public sermon in the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Dublin, the acquittal of O'Connell by the peers in parliament was attributed to this same Romish deity.

The instinctive hatred of the Roman Church to the intellectual progress of mankind, more remarkable now than ever it was under Paul IV. and Pius V., is most strongly illustrated by the reigning pontiff's opposition to a common copy-right law for all the Italian states, and to the annual congress of the scientific men of Italy. In 1840 the emperor of Austria for his Italian states, and the king of Sardinia, concluded a treaty in favor of authors, publishers, &c., which secures to them a right of property as to all works of science, literature, and art (including pictures, statues, and drawings) which appear in their respective states, and invited the other Italian governments to become parties to it. The pope, after taking some time to deliberate, refused: but the treaty has already been joined by the two Sicilies, Tuscany, Lucca, Parma, and even by the duke of Modena.

All the Italian princes, the duke of Modena himself among the rest, allow their learned subjects to meet in congress once a year for the purpose of consulting and providing in common for the advancement of science and the useful arts. They met for the first time at Pisa in 1838. It was the greatest national solemnity of Italy. Every province, almost every town of the peninsula, was there represented by some member or spectator. But no subject of the pope was there seen in either capacity. The last congress has just now closed in Milan: it has been the most splendid of all.

\* In his bull, 1832, for instance, he designated her as "our greatest hope, yes, the entire ground of our hope;" and the Papal vicar-general of London, in 1840, declared her to be "the co-redeemer of the world."

But the most curious instance, perhaps, of the blasphemous honors paid at this day to the Virgin Mary, and which certainly puts to the blush the ingenuity of St. Bonaventure, is the Lord's Prayer addressed to her by the mere change of the word father into mother.

All Italy was there, all Europe, listening, learning, rejoicing; but no subject of his holiness was there, no, not one. His holiness refuses permission to all his subjects to attend it, though no politics, no religion be in those assemblies ever mentioned.

If former popes broke without scruple the engagements of their predecessors with their people, Mauro Capellari set aside his own without hesitancy: Italy will not soon forget how shamefully he violated the capitulation of Cardinal Benevenuti. The numerous executions, and the confiscations of private property which but a few months since took place, to the scandal of Europe, in Bologna and other towns of the Papal states, prove that the reigning dynasty is more greedy and ferocious than any other within the last two centuries.

Therefore, whatever change may have taken place in the Papacy, on inquiry it will be found a change for the worse. But Rome denies most solemnly that any mutation has been wrought in her system. "Bear ever in mind, venerable brethren," exclaims *our Gregory, in his bull, August 15th*, above quoted, "that the universal church suffers from every novelty, and that from what has been regularly defined nothing can be taken away, no innovation introduced there, no addition made; but that it must be preserved untouched both as to words and meaning." Indeed, it is well known that the immutability of the Roman Church is one of the most familiar topics in the mouth of her partisans to prove her incorruption. "Yet several persons," in the words of Dean Miller, "and even some of our leading senators, suppose that Popery has long since been abundantly meliorated. But I wish they may not be nearer the truth, who think that the spirit of Protestantism has sadly degenerated."

But it is high time for us to answer the great question, Will the hierarchy come out of the approaching contest victorious?

1. If the course of events from the fourteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, as above delineated, may be taken as an index of the events which will take place hereafter, we might answer unhesitatingly, No. The faster the power of Rome increases, the greater will be its abuse, and thence its overthrow.

2. If we consider the feelings and tendencies of the European nations in nominal communion with Rome, we shall not fail to perceive that the rock on which the Roman Church stands is the crust of a terrible volcano: the smallest spark from any quarter may suffice to awaken its fury, and bury under its ruins that monstrous incubus of the dark ages.

3. If we take a survey of the several Italian states, and espe-



cially of the state of the church, we shall find it impossible to reconcile the expectations of a long-protracted existence of Popery with the strong probability of her not far distant destruction.

4. And lastly, if the Protestant nations of Europe, sensible at last of their duty and interest, should withdraw their protection from a power hostile by necessity to their religious and political principles,\* which makes it a sin for any of its subjects to deal humanely by them, which, since its restoration, has striven most relentlessly and ungratefully for their destruction, &c., Popery would sink most rapidly to the grave.

It is a fact too notorious to need proof that the intelligent classes of the population of all Roman Catholic countries on the continent of Europe are averse to the despotism of Rome: they see it in league with the European princes for the purpose of overthrowing all liberal institutions, and quenching the democratic spirit of the age. How can they forbear hating it? And when they contemplate its practical workings on the prosperity of the nations, how can they cease from conspiring and praying for its subversion? For it cannot be denied that Mohammedanism, heathenism, and even infidelity may be consistent with national wealth and happiness, whereas the constant attendants of Popery are ignorance, poverty, and degradation.

Look at Spain. It might be said that Providence placed that country under the exclusive control of Romanism to show the world what effects it is capable of working out for the temporal interests of the nations. And what is Spain now? A dreary waste haunted by beggars. Cross it from the Pyrenees to Cadiz, from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean Sea, and you will feel as though you were transported into an African country: no agriculture, no industry, no trade, no means of internal communication, no castles, no palaces, not even ruins of Christian origin: but there stands in the middle of the desert the Escorial, the fit abode of the destroying angel of the land. Still this is the country of the orange-tree, and the nightingale; the home of chivalry, poetry, and love; where the Moors reared the wonderful temples, the enchanted palaces of Andalusia, Grenada, and Valencia, gathered all the learning of the world, and the best scholars, artificers, and husbandmen of the

\* Here is a proof quite fresh from the Popish mint:—

"If," say the Belgian bishops in their pastoral letter, August, 1843, "if any one approach you who does not profess the doctrine of Jesus Christ, (meaning of course the doctrines of Popery,) receive him not into your houses, neither salute him: for whoever acknowledges such persons is a participator in their wickedness."

middle ages, who converted it into a garden worthy of the magical Alhambra. What a contrast between the Moors and Philip II., and his successors?

What are Naples and Sicily now? Go back to the days of your youth, review the splendid scenes which the polity, philosophy, and poetry of Hesperia and the island of the sun presented to your enraptured imagination, and say if you did not almost believe that that paradise of the western Greece was a land beyond the boundaries of this world. And when you crossed in a hurry the patri-mony of St. Peter, and the duchy of Rome, could you realize that that pestilential desert was the field of the long-contested battles, and the triumphs of the republic, the favored retreat of dictators and consuls, and the resort of the rustivating nobility of Rome? But there is the Papal city overlooking the melancholy Campagna as if ashamed of its desolation, and trying to escape from the malaria of her own manufacture, the most appropriate type of the religious system which buried under her ruins the gods and goddesses of the land. Lastly, compare France before the revolution under the dominion of priests and kings by the *grace of God*, with France after it, under the rule of an *infidel mind*, and what an enormous difference?

But Italy, of the present day, exhibits in her different provinces the clearest and strongest proof of the necessary evils of Popery that may be wanted in order to account for the hatred with which the Italians have always hated her.

The Lombardo Venetian kingdom contains a population of four millions five hundred thousand, or three hundred and forty-nine to every square Italian mile: the mainland provinces of the kingdom of Sardinia a population of three millions five hundred thousand, or two hundred and ninety to every square mile: the Papal state two millions seven hundred thousand, or two hundred and nine to every square mile: the kingdom of Naples, mainland, six millions, or two hundred and forty-five souls to a square mile: the island of Sicily one million seven hundred and eighty-five thousand, or two hundred and twenty-five to the square mile; and the island of Sardinia five hundred thousand, or sixty-nine souls to the square mile.

The Lombardo Venetian kingdom provides for the gratuitous instruction of every boy and girl. The government of Sardinia pays very little attention to the improvement of the lower orders, and in no part of the kingdom are there public elementary schools for girls. The Papal states have no general scheme for the elementary instruction of the poorer classes. The females of the aristocratic classes only receive some sort of education in nunneries. In the

kingdom of Naples, mainland, only one sixty-ninth part of the population are taught reading and writing. In Sicily there are no elementary schools at all for either boys or girls, and the case of Sardinia was till of late the same.

The public debt of the Lombardo Venetian kingdom is about \$15,000,000; that of the continental provinces of the kingdom of Sardinia \$17,000,000; that of the Papal states \$65,000,000; that of Naples \$70,000,000.

The foreign commerce of Italy has been valued, conjecturally, at about \$60,000,000 annually. The Lombardo Venetian kingdom, with about one-fifth of the population and less than a seventh part of the area of Italy, exports annually to the amount of nearly \$30,000,000; Sardinia about \$9,000,000; the Papal states *an immense quantity of rags, of which the metropolis furnishes a large share, and of which a considerable part being too bad for paper making is used as a manure*; and the kingdom of the two Sicilies natural produce, as olive oil, wines, sumach, sulphur, and fruits, to the value of about \$18,000,000.

In the Lombardo Venetian kingdom the illegitimate births stand to the legitimate as one to twenty-seven. The number of persons convicted of crime in the government of Milan, or Lombardy proper, with a population of two millions five hundred thousand, were, in 1838, eleven hundred and ninety; of whom for high treason, four—for murder and manslaughter, two—for wounding, nine—for dangerous exposure of children, four—for arson, forty-four—for theft and breach of trust, eight hundred and sixty-seven—for robbery, one hundred and forty-eight—for swindling, twenty-one—for assisting criminals, one.

The foundling hospitals of the Sardinian kingdom contained, in 1833, eighteen thousand three hundred and sixty-five children. In the province of Genoa, containing a population of two hundred thousand, there were found, in 1835, two hundred and seventy-five deserted children, while one hundred and sixty-three were discovered dead; and in the same province there was one illegitimate for every eleven births.

In the Papal states the number of criminals convicted and imprisoned in 1832 was recorded officially at two thousand seven hundred and eight. The crimes were the following:—State offenses, seventy-six—resisting the police, twenty-six—breach of the police surveillance, fifty-two—homicide, five hundred and eighty—wounding, two hundred and seventy-seven—burglary, two hundred and ninety-five—robbery, forty-six—larceny, two hundred and fifteen—theft, eight hundred and eleven—coining, seven—rape, ninety-one—



escape from prison, eight—other delinquencies, two hundred and forty-four. It is admitted that crime has increased since the date of that return!!

Of thirteen thousand five hundred and six children born in the city of Naples in 1832, two thousand and forty-five, or one in eight, were illegitimate. In 1824, in Palermo, with a population of one hundred and sixty-four thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, six thousand six hundred and fifty-eight children were born, five hundred and ninety-seven of whom were illegitimate. According to the latest statistics for the city of Naples the number of the illegitimate births has increased in a fearful proportion.

The Lombardo Venetian kingdom has two archbishops, eighteen bishops, seventeen thousand secular priests, and fifty-eight convents, with four hundred and sixty friars and monks, and nine hundred nuns; or one ecclesiastic to every two hundred and fifty inhabitants.

The kingdom of Sardinia has six archbishops, thirty-four bishops, and four hundred and eighteen convents. The number of the secular and regular clergy is not known, but it is very large.

The Papal states contain four archbishops, fifty-eight bishops, and more than thirty-five thousand secular priests, twelve thousand monks, and eight thousand nuns, or an ecclesiastic to every forty-nine inhabitants. In the city of Rome (not included above) there were, in 1836, five thousand four hundred and forty-five ecclesiastics of all classes, or one ecclesiastic to every twenty-eight inhabitants.

In the kingdom of Naples, mainland, there are twenty archbishops, sixty-five bishops, and (in 1832) twenty-seven thousand six hundred and twenty-two secular priests, eleven thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight monks and friars, and ten thousand two hundred and ninety-nine nuns, or one ecclesiastic to every one hundred and twenty persons. In the island of Sicily there are three archbishops, eleven bishops, thirty-one thousand secular priests, twenty-eight thousand monks and friars, and twenty-seven thousand nuns, or an ecclesiastic to every twenty-four inhabitants.

Putting side by side these statistical data we see at a glance, that where there are more ecclesiastics there are fewer inhabitants, fewer schools, less commerce, greater public debt, more foundlings, more crimes.

But the Italians have much weightier reasons for their abomination of Popery. All the historians and politicians of Europe agree in attributing to the division, or want of unity of Italy, her present weakness, poverty, and humiliation, and in tracing this want of unity to the unscrupulous ambition of the bishops of Rome. "The church" (of Rome,) the greatest political historian of Italy, Machiavelli, avers

with all his emphasis, "the church, and the church alone, held and holds this our country, Italy, divided, and this division is the cause of our ruin." It was at the call of the pope, that Pepin and Charlemagne invaded Italy, and destroyed the Lombard kingdom when the rest of the peninsula was on the eve of its reupion to the main body under the Longobard sceptre. It was, likewise, at the solicitation of the pope, that Charles D'Angio rushed into Italy at the head of an army of greedy and ferocious adventurers to overthrow the Sicilian monarchy at the time that Upper Italy, swayed by Ghibelline influence, was ready to place herself under the standard of the valiant and unfortunate Manfred. It was the pope who broke down the power of the Venetians with the arms of France, who drove the French out of Italy with the assistance of the Swiss, who sided now with Spain, then with Germany, leagued himself with English, Turks, and Saracens, with monarchies, and republics, regardless alike for the exigences of Christianity, the interests of Italy, and the peace of Europe; and for what? For the purpose of acquiring, extending, and securing to *St. Peter* a temporal kingdom amidst the greatest calamities that ever befell Italy and Europe. Well and truly said Napoleon, that the declension of Italy began when the priests took upon themselves to govern her!

The resurrection of Italy depends on the destruction of the Papacy, or at least no hope for the regeneration of Italy can be entertained as long as the Papacy holds in her withering hand the heart of that country. Is it then strange that the intelligent classes of the Italian people should long and labor for the downfall of the pope?

It is the common remark of all Protestant travelers in Roman Catholic countries, and in Italy more so than elsewhere, that the people there may be divided into two classes, *the superstitious* and *the unbelieving*. The Italians themselves, who have written on this subject, acknowledge the truth of this classification; but at the same time they all agree in deriving it from the practical religion of their country. Machiavelli said that no better proof can be wanted of the declension of Christianity in Italy than that which arises from the fact, *that the people who are nearer to the Church of Rome, the pretended head of our religion, have less religion*. "By the wicked examples of that court" of Rome, he exclaims, "this country has lost all devotion, all religion. . . . We Italians, therefore, owe to the church and to the priests that we have become irreligious and bad." The historian, Francesco Vettori, a friend of Leo X., affirms, that "whoever considers well the law of the gospel will not fail to perceive that the popes, though bearing the

name of vicar of Christ, have introduced a new religion, which has nothing of Christ but the name." And what religion have they introduced?

A certain pope found among the rubbish of pagan Rome a bronze statue of Jupiter Capitolinus. He knocked Jupiter's head off, and clapped on another of the same metal, and then called the statue *St. Peter*. This statue stands now near the entrance of St. Peter in the Vatican, and the people, on entering that stupendous building, pay to St. Peter's bronze statue the same honors and devotions that formerly they used to pay to Jupiter Capitolinus, when it stood in the temple consecrated to the chief god of Olympus. That statue is the truest emblem of the Christianity of the popes.

Therefore, it is no wonder if almost all intelligent Italians laugh at the ceremonies of the church, or turn away from her in disgust, thinking that revelation itself (known to them by name only) is a fable for the vulgar; while the vulgar, attracted to the church by their senses, yield up to her their carnal hearts and infant understandings in return for the amusements she is continually affording them.

But of all the Italians, the subjects of the pope are his most resolute and uncompromising opponents. Lord Brougham, in his *Political Philosophy*, said "that the Papal government is the only one in the world that is no government at all." He ought to have said that it is the worst of all possible misgovernments. That of the Mamelukes of Egypt, though organized on the same principle, would have been a blessing to the subjects of his holiness.

When Napoleon fell, the Roman treasury was not a cent in debt: now its indebtedness amounts, as we have seen, to \$65,000,000. For many years past the revenue has fallen short of the expenses about \$1,000,000 per annum. In the first year of the present pope's reign the taxes amounted to the annual sum of about \$10,000,000. Owing to the immense number of beggars, privileged classes of the people, and privileged lands, the weight of these taxes fell upon a small portion of the population, and in the total absence of industry, commerce, and profitable agriculture, the collection of them was very difficult and distressing. Now the government has nearly doubled its exactions, and how the people must reel under them it is not difficult to imagine, especially when we consider the enormous difference between this country and the state of the church in the value of money, and the price of labor. The poor mountaineers, in the neighborhood of the low lands cursed with the malaria, descend in summer to do the heaviest field-work on them for a shilling and a half a day: and it is known that nine-tenths of these poor laborers die



within the second or third year of the fatal effects of the climate. Moreover, those willing to work in the Roman state *may* work only for sixteen days in the month. For, besides the Sundays, there are seventy-two *feste di precetto*, (days of obligatory attendance on church festivals,) and many other days set apart for the celebration of anniversaries of saint protectors of villages, townships, counties, trades, crafts, confraternities, for missions, rogations, quarantore, &c.

It would take a large volume to set forth in a clear manner the practical effects of the Papal misgovernments on the economy and morals of the people: but in the limited space allotted to us for this article we will only relate a fact which, to an intelligent reader, will be worth all the pages which we cannot command.

About twelve years ago the grand duke of Tuscany, having a large amount of money lying idle by him, offered through a public notice to lend it in any sums at a very low interest, on good security, to Italians who stood in need of means for industrial or commercial purposes. But from this offer he expressly excluded his nearest neighbors, the subjects of the pope, on the only ground that no good security could by any of them be afforded in consequence of the intricacy of their laws, the instability of their institutions, and the nature of their courts of justice.

As to personal security, it is too well known that not only the thing, but its very name, is in that state never heard of. In 1833 hundreds of honest citizens were imprisoned without cause, and condemned to severe punishments without trial. "The oppression of the poor by the rich," (we borrow here the words of Cardinal Sacchetti to Alexander VII.,) "the perversion of justice through the influence of cardinals, princes, and officers of the palace; the delay of business which might be dispatched in two or three days for years and years; the outrages to which any one appealing from an inferior to a higher court is certain to expose himself; the forfeitures and executions, by means of which the taxes are levied; cruelties tending only to render the sovereign odious, and to enrich his servants,\* are afflictions which exceed the afflictions of the Israelites in Egypt. People not conquered by the sword, but subject to the see of Rome either by the gift of princes or by voluntary submission, are treated with greater barbarity than slaves in Syria or Africa: who can witness this without tears?"

\* Cardinal Della Somaglia, who died but a few years ago, left to his heirs, among other things, about two millions of francs in hard money. Few cardinals, if any, die possessed of a less sum than two or three hundred thousand francs in cash.

We have said enough, we hope, to lead our readers to the proper appreciation of the causes of the repeated insurrections in the Papal states, and of the determination of its inhabitants to put an end, in some way or other, to the kingdom of the priests. "About the year 1650 the opinion universally gained ground that an ecclesiastical government was fatal to the interests of the public." Two centuries of further experience have at length produced in the mind of the statesmen of Europe the conviction that the Roman court is an absurdity, an anomaly in the political arrangement of the Christian world, and that the act of its restoration in 1814 was a downright folly. It is already publicly known that some of the great powers of Europe begin to entertain serious thoughts about the necessity of secularizing this last and worst of all the ecclesiastical dominions of Christendom, as no reform can be introduced there with a prospect of good and permanent results: the mismanagement, itself, of that fine province by the priesthood must, sooner or later, bring its present government to an end; and the difficulties of a new arrangement of Italy, in this case, would inevitably be greater than in the other, of an immediate conventional dissolution.

Lastly, we have said that the duty and interest of the anticatholic powers of Europe may compel them to withdraw their support from the Papal throne, and that in such a case the Papacy herself would crumble into dust for ever.

It is a matter of authentic record that the tiara owed its preservation from the peace of Westphalia to the French revolution, and its renovation in 1814 to the aforesaid anticatholic governments, and especially to England. Its fate is still in their hands: Russia, Prussia, and England still rule the destinies of Europe, and they have but to say to Italy, "Arise, and be free," and the tiara is cast to the ground and broken to pieces beyond the art of all royal tinkers.

There is no need, we think, of any particular argument to convince the Protestant nations that their duty and interest bid them by all means to resist the imposition on their necks of the degrading yoke of Rome, even against the policy of their own governments. But there may be a great need of arguments to convince them of the truth of this position, that if they all have serious cause of apprehension from the present attitude of the Roman Church, those among them that enjoy the blessings of a constitutional government are exposed to greater dangers from that quarter than the rest, and exactly in proportion to the extension of their right of suffrage. That this to many will appear a paradox we doubt not. The Romish priests and press send forth daily so many warm protestations

of their sympathies with our civil and religious liberty, the doctrinal and historical truth of the *incompatibility of Romanism with republicanism* has been so inefficiently exhibited to our people, there is abroad such an exaggerated notion of the power of elementary instruction, and of the press, on religious convictions, such a morbid affectation of liberalism, such a misconception of religion and religious freedom, that we shall be pretty generally accused of extravagance, at least. Still we utter but a plain, palpable truth.

The Papal system, or Popery, is a pure theocracy, a politico-religious despotism, such as we see established in the *states of the church*. Wherever the civil power is strong, Popery clings to it, and adds to its strength in return for the support or toleration she may receive from it. Wherever the civil power is weak, Popery twists herself around it and gradually smothers it down to a mere tool of her own political domination. This is her history in all ages.

The hierarchy of the Roman Church leads irresistibly to the establishment of a like hierarchical subordination in the state. "Napoleon, who was filled with the idea of a new universal empire, came very early to the conviction, that of all the ancient institutions of Europe necessary to the accomplishment of his ambitious design, the unity of religion and a hierarchical subordination were the foremost. For it was from the battle-field of Marengo that he dispatched the bishop of Vercelli to enter into negotiations with the pope concerning the re-establishment of the Romish Church in France." The restoration and extension of Popery since the downfall of Napoleon prove that his conquerors entertain on this subject the same conviction: and it is a familiar historical fact, that the organization even of the Church of England was by Charles I. (and his father) considered so essential to the preservation of the English monarchy, that he resisted unto death its loudly called-for abolition. *No bishop no king*, was his constant and last answer.

The fundamental principle of the Romish faith, *salvation by works, and through the church*, places the laity at the feet of the priesthood, and the now universally received rule of that faith, *the infallible and irresistible authority of the church*, places the foot of the supreme pontiff on the neck of his flock, and annihilates the individuality and independence of the nations. The doctrine of the supremacy of the pope, which we have above stated, according to the greatest controversialist of the Jesuitical school, and of modern Romanism, Cardinal Bellarmine, receives from the rule of faith of the present day its amplest confirmation. So much for the religious part of the Romish theory on this subject.



The Protestant divines of the sixteenth century maintained, as it is pretty well known, that God alone set princes and rulers over the race of men, urged on the people the necessity of submission even to unjust and culpable princes, and averred that the power of the clergy regarded spiritual things alone. The Jesuits, on the contrary, maintained that God had conferred supreme temporal power on no individual in particular; but that this power resided in the people, who retained an indefeasible right to alter the forms of government, to resume the sovereignty, and to transfer it into new hands. *But at the same time they made the existence of this government dependent on the application of this power to the advancement of the interests of the church. For it is, they say, a fundamental condition of all authority in a temporal prince that he should foster and defend the Roman Catholic faith, and consequently, that no heretical monarch can be placed on the throne, and that a monarch may not only be dethroned, but even put to death, if his life be injurious to the Roman Catholic religion.* So that they incorporated into one system their theories of the sovereignty of the people and of the omnipotence of the pope, the most democratic ideas and the highest spiritual pretensions; absolute freedom, and complete subjection. Thus Barnabas Chiaramonti, bishop of Imola, in a sermon delivered and printed in 1797, undertook to demonstrate that Roman Catholicism was favorable to a democratic form of government; and in his bull of excommunication against Napoleon in 1809 he asserted, with his last free breath, the supremacy of his church over the French empire, and all the empires of the earth. So much for the celebrated civil theory of the Jesuits, Bellarmine, Allen, Parsons, Suarez, Mariano, &c., so often quoted by their successors in this country to prove their hereditary republicanism. They mooted it in France in the days of the unhappy Henry III.; by it they strengthened the heart of his assassin, and perfected it against his successor Henry IV., whom they also wanted to murder, and kept so long from the throne because a *heretic*: where it is to be noted that the Jesuits persisted in their *republican* doctrine even after it was condemned by the Sorbonne, and went into banishment rather than to retract it, just as they did afterward in the controversy of the republic of Venice with Paul V., when they chose perpetual expulsion from her territories, in preference to a compliance with the civil laws of that state against the usurpations of Rome.

The conclusion is, that Popery is the best basis of an empire, English episcopacy of an aristocracy, salvation by faith of a republic, and salvation by works of a leaden despotism. As to the re-

*publican* theory of the Jesuits, we will only remark that it explains and foretells the present and future course of the Romish Church in this country. Her success is intimately connected with, first, the annihilation of the civil power by the process of social decomposition; and second, the obliteration of our nationality.

It seems to us that an accurate exposition of the above principles of the Roman Catholic Church, and of the laws resting on them, ought to constitute the basis of a convincing demonstration of the incompatibility of Popery with our political compact; and it is from such an exposition alone that the thesis may be proved, that no conscientious professor of, or believer in, Popery, can legally and consistently be, or remain, an American citizen. The importance of such a demonstration in a popular form in the present circumstances of our country cannot be too highly estimated; and it is to be regretted that some competent person has not yet felt himself called upon to prepare and give to the public a tract on this subject: for we do not believe that this vacuum has been filled up by the labors of the lamented Dr. Brownlee, favorably known to the Christian churches of this land, nor by the Premium Tract by Civis, quoted at the head of this article, about which we are unwilling to say anything more than this—that the injury it may eventually do to its argument is more than neutralized by the injury which the answer by Fenelon, quoted in connection with the tract itself, must necessarily inflict upon the other side.

And, indeed, this answer by *an American hereditary Protestant Fenelon!!* is the oddest polemical curiosity we have ever seen, or expect to see, so long as we dwell beyond the attraction of the moon.

Our Protestant Fenelon begins with acknowledging, most candid soul of a Protestant, that "the Romish Church is coeval with the advent of our Redeemer," (page 3,) that "she is now ruled as she was in apostolic days," and consequently "cannot be changed for this or that plan," (page 25,) and continues by confessing that "it is to be regretted that the injunctions of the pope are not complied with in our common schools," that "in consequence of this non-compliance it would be far better for the cause of God and human happiness that the whole system of our common schools was abolished," (pages 42, 43,) that "the authority which the Romish Church claims to interpret the Scriptures, to bind the people to her doctrine, to forbid them the use of their discretion, &c., has been conferred upon her by her great founder!" and yet, that "she has never forbidden the people to read the Scriptures!" (page 46,) and concludes by saying, that "this is all an idle question," (that of the

incompatibility of Romanism with democracy,) "since the inspired volumes do not teach anywhere that this or that form of government is to be adopted by His followers."

After this display of the most solemn stolidity under the moon, we think it best to dismiss this matchless performance with this single remark, that it is in perfect keeping with the system followed by the *celebrated* lecturer on "the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power in the governments of the middle ages," and his American and English compeers, which system, born before the popes, and acted upon by some of the most celebrated fathers of the church, was, without limitations, adopted into the moral rules of Jesuitism, and is commonly expressed, and known under the formula, *The end justifies the means*, or, *Evil may be done that good may come*.

What is wanted, if anything is wanted, to complete the proof of our assertion—that the greater the constitutional liberty of a country, the greater the danger to it from Popery—will be found in looking at the condition of the Romish power in the different kingdoms of Europe.

In Russia, we all know, it is entirely at the mercy of the czar. One word, a nod from him, is enough to put out the life of the Romish Church in his empire, just as one puff of the wind is enough to put out the flickering light of a lamp.

In the hereditary provinces of the Austrian empire the authority of the Roman Catholic Church depends on the sufferance and interest of the emperor; but he could not at one blow extinguish the church herself: the history of Joseph II. is a decisive proof of this proposition.

In Prussia the authority of the king over the Roman Catholic Church is as great as public opinion makes it. We have already spoken of the resistance he met in 1898 from his archbishops. "The power of Rome found, in Germany itself, ready organs and powerful support."

But in constitutional countries Rome is a truly independent power, an *imperium in imperio*. "The low qualification which, in Belgium, admits the humbler classes, in town and country, *over whom the priests most readily obtain influence*, to a share in public business, enables *them* to direct the elections: by means of the elections they rule the chambers; by means of the chambers, the kingdom. In Brussels, as in Rome, you meet *them* in the public walks well fed, and full of pretensions: they enjoy their victory." And late accounts from Belgium show that the liberties of the people exist in theory in their liberal charter, and in fact, in the hands of the priests, and through them in those of their sovereign at Rome.



Some cantons of Switzerland are as completely under the control of the Jesuits as Russia is in the power of her autocrat. As to their power in France we need only to refer to its history from the restoration to the revolution in 1830, and from the year 1837 to this day : and in regard to England, to her parliamentary history since the agitation system of O'Connell. And as to the United States. . .

We choose to say nothing in reference to our country on this subject. But we must remark that our fellow-citizens rely too much on the broken reed of public elementary instruction. In our opinion elementary education has, by far, less power to secure human reason from error than Americans are willing to grant it : and in this particular business of religion its power is very little indeed, or nothing at all. Look at the delusions of Millerism and Mormonism, at the pestilential heresy of Universalism, &c., if you want a proof of it. Besides, this education is fallen already to a great extent into the hands of Rome ; and the larger share of it may fall into the same hands hereafter. What then ?

Everybody acknowledges that for the last few years Popery has gone on increasing at an amazing rate, both in England and in the United States. What reasons have we to believe or hope that Popery will, in either country, at some future period halt ? None whatever ; unless, indeed, some change should take place either in our means of defense and aggression, or in her own bosom, so as to impair her stupendous energies. As the matter now stands, would it be absurd to believe that in fifty years hence the pope will have gained the mastery over the English government, and in a much shorter time over our own ?

Hence the evident pressing necessity of changing the existing relations between Protestantism and Romanism, of devising some new plan of operations, some new means of awakening in our churches a more fervent apostolical zeal, by which to effect what the institutions already existing here and in England have, in spite of an enormous expenditure, failed to bring about, and will for ever be unable to accomplish, *the overthrow of the politico-religious conspiracy of Rome.*

Hence the creation of the Christian Alliance for the promotion of *religious freedom.*

We have already expressed our conviction that in continental Europe, at least, Rome will *certainly* be defeated again in the present attempt to recover her ancient, and more than her ancient power, over its several governments, and by the *Romance* populations, more decisively than by the Teutonic and Slavonic races, in her communion. We feel confident that the evangelical churches

of Great Britain will awake in time to their danger, come up to the full discharge of their domestic duties, and recover the long-lost guardianship in the fold of the Protestant faith; and we are also far from despairing of the United States, as from present indications there is reason to believe that Protestantism, on this its most favored soil, will be true to itself.

But the security of Protestantism, the peace of Christendom, and the evangelization of the world, demand the speedy defeat of the great Roman conspiracy, and this defeat, immediate action: for it is not to be expected that this event will ever take place but from the operation of causes beyond the Papal control, from the agency of contrary elements that are already at work in the bosom of the Roman Church, and from external opposition and aggression.

Therefore, if we correctly understand the internal condition of Romanism, and the duty, interest, and strength of Protestantism; if we do not misconceive the spirit and ultimate object of the Christian Alliance, it seems to us that two distinct and yet co-ordinate systems of operations must be organized and vigorously prosecuted by this society to insure, under the providence of God, its success; the first for Roman Catholic countries, among which Italy occupies the most important place: the second for Protestant countries, among which England and the United States stand pre-eminent.

We have already adverted to the hostile disposition of the intelligent classes, especially of the *Romance* nations, toward Rome.

During the dark and the middle ages the pope often played the tribune of the people against kings and feudal princes: at the breaking out of, and ever after, the Reformation, he became the people's executioner. Why, then, should the middle and lower classes consent to his retaining the power they conferred on him centuries ago for their protection, now that he exerts it only for their destruction? What has he done since the restoration to deserve the good will of his *flock* and the good opinion of the world? Nothing, worse than nothing. "Perhaps a cry, sounded from the Vatican, might have proved the salvation of Poland: but not even the thought of uttering such a cry, which would have shaken the earth, was by Rome conceived." On the contrary the pope thundered forth his anathemas against bleeding Poland. "In the midst of these solemn debates, (congress,) for whom did she raise her voice when the whole world was listening? She was thinking only of her temporal possessions! Did she resume the office which she performed in the middle ages, and plead the cause of the helpless? Did she think of Ireland, Greece, Bohemia, Hungary, of all the oppressed? . . . No; she thought of Romagna! . . . . When it was proposed to re-

form the laws of nations, was it Rome who demanded the abolition of slavery, of capital punishment for political offenses? . . . When state scaffolds were raised in the midst of violent ebullitions, did Rome lift up her voice in the name of divine mercy? . . . Did Ney, Murat, all those brave men persecuted by the fury of the times, find a refuge in Rome? . . . No, a thousand times no!"

Among the elements of discord and dissent existing in the very bosom of the Romish Church, the ecclesiastical association of Germany, under the patronage of the king of Bavaria, holds an important place, a detailed account of which may be seen in the July number of the Foreign Quarterly Review, under the title, "*A Schism in the Papacy.*" It aims at the repeal of the laws on confession, on the celibacy of the priests, on the church service in Latin, and on the exclusion of the cup to the laity in the Lord's supper. The success of the German prelates in either of the first two points above mentioned would necessarily involve the destruction of *Popery*. How worthy, then, is their struggle of the sympathies and prayers of the Christian world?

But lest some of our readers should misunderstand our meaning, it is, perhaps, necessary to notice here the great difference that, in Roman Catholic countries of the European continent, exists between the idea of Popery and that of Catholicism. This difference proceeds from the opposite view the Romish and the Catholic theologians take of the functions of the pope. The former take him for the living rule of their faith: the latter for the *foreman* of the jury of bishops, only, while their rule of faith lies in the Bible, and the fathers and œcumenical councils subjected to the canon of interpretation laid down by Vicentius Lirinensis. Hence, the moderate views of the leader of the Jesuit theologians which did not satisfy Sixtus V., and the Curialists of Rome, are spurned with indignation by the opposition, or Catholic party, inasmuch as they do not find for them any countenance in the New Testament or in the usages and councils of the best ages of the church. Hence they ridicule the doctrine of the infallibility of the pope *ex cathedra loquentis*, the miracles, indulgences, canonization of saints, fasts, relics, images, and other lucrative contrivances of the Romish Church; they regard with abhorrence the union of the temporal with the spiritual power in the bishop of Rome, considering it with St. Bernard as a grievous calamity, and the source of all the corruptions and misfortunes of the church. They reverence the rights of conscience as much as Protestants do; never refer to the pretended œcumenical councils of the dark and middle ages to establish any point of controverted doctrine; and as to the Council of Trent,



(which is commonly called a conventicle, *conciliabulum*,) it is in Italy herself never mentioned but by way of reprobation. So we see the German prelates, according to the above article of the Foreign Quarterly Review, rejecting the *Romish* doctrine of confession, the celibacy of the clergy, &c., without supposing for a moment that they are rejecting any article of *Catholic* doctrine. And as to the cardinal points of the faith in reference to sin, grace, justification, &c., it is well known that the best portion of even the Italian clergy adhere to the teachings of Jansenius. Therefore, when a Catholic speaks of Popery, or Romanism, Hildebrandism, Ultramontanism, &c., he does not mean the fundamental tenets of his faith, but the novelties which the Church of Rome in the pursuit of worldly objects has added to them, and *forcibly imposed on the Catholic Church*.

These elements of opposition to the principles of the Roman Church exist, as they have done since the dark ages, stronger in Italy than in any other country. They are amalgamated with the political feelings of the people, and imbodyed in their literature; the ascendancy of the curia of Rome always occupies the foreground in the tragical scenes of that ill-fated land; and no Italian can read his novelists, historians, poets, from the thirteenth century to this day, without meeting at every page some new account of the sufferings of his country from the ambition, rapacity, and profligacy of the Papal court. See on this point M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy; Rossetti's Antipapal Spirit of the Italian Classics; Sismondi's Abridgment of his own History of the Italian Republics, &c.

Further to illustrate this subject we transfer to our pages a few facts recorded in the history of our times.

In 1797 a melodrama, or *ballet d'action*, was brought out at the Theatre della Scala in Milan, called *Il General Colli in Roma*, or *Il Ballo del Papa*. The ludicrousness of this piece, which was exhibited for many successive nights, may be inferred from the part which the pope himself performs in the last scene, in the hall of the consistory, when, throwing off the tiara, Pius VI. assumed the cap of liberty, and danced a few steps to show his handsome legs, of which he was notoriously vain, and the house, convulsed with laughter, rung with a tumultuous applause, and insisted again and again, with one voice, on its repetition.

When Pius VII. was, by order of Napoleon, carried into France in 1809, and the Papal provinces were annexed to the French empire, the inhabitants expressed their satisfaction at the change through a deputation sent across the Alps for the purpose, at the

head of which was Duke Braschi, the nephew of Pius VI.: and when the same Pius VII. in 1814, on his returning to Rome, was approaching Bologna with the intention of passing through it, a deputation from the city authorities met him with the request that he would keep out of Bologna to avoid all dangers: for the people were so incensed at the restoration of the Papacy, that they, the city authorities, could not guaranty his personal safety.

The same Pius VII. employed his last moments of freedom, in 1809, in drawing up and launching forth a most terrible bull of excommunication against Napoleon for *the seizure of the Papal state*: and the Italians did not even laugh at it; they did not notice it. And when the present pope, Mauro Capellari, laid, with all the imposing forms of Boniface VIII., the city of Ancona, in 1832, under the spiritual interdict, not only the Italians of other states, but his own subjects, sneered at it in the morning, and most contemptuously forgot it in the evening, of its publication.

The system, therefore, of *foreign* operations by the Christian Alliance, ought, it seems to us, to be based on the elements of opposition above adverted to existing in the bosom of the Romish Church and among the Italians, stronger than elsewhere, for the purpose of harmonizing, correcting, extending, and strengthening them by the introduction of our superior means of knowledge, and the legitimate exercise of all our influence.

The greater importance of Italy, in the object of the Christian Alliance, arises out of her peculiar political and moral condition as above stated, and from the circumstances, first, that Popery is weaker there than in the rest of the world, and consequently more easily wounded there, and for the rest of the world also. The late bull of the pope, May 8th, 1844, fulminated against this society, has, we are happy to hear, convinced the most incredulous of the truth of this statement. There are, in Protestant countries, many societies in active operation against Romanism even in Popish countries, and not one of them, the Bible societies excepted, has deserved the reprobation of Rome, but the Christian Alliance. Second, that several Italians, favorably known at home for their probity, talent, and influence, may be easily, and we are already sure of it, enlisted in this undertaking, and that many Italians abroad, of character and great literary attainments, have offered to this new society their gratuitous services: for to them all its object is one of the greatest national importance. After having been for ten centuries the butt of the cruelties, and the victim of every kind of treachery and plunder, to foreign nations, Italy welcomes, as the cheering harbinger of better days, this beginning of a movement which has for

its object, not conquest or spoliation, but religious freedom and its consequent benefits for all, under the benign illumination and guidance of the revealed truth.

The domestic part of the business of the Christian Alliance should, in our estimation, consist in the active extension of its organization all over the United States, England, and other Protestant countries, for the purpose of strengthening the cause of religious liberty at home by bringing the churches and governments up to the discharge of their domestic duties,\* and then of directing their superabundant strength under a common authority, on a single plan, and with a single purpose to the one object, of not only resisting, but assailing everywhere, defeating and conquering this Janus-faced despotism, whose peace is compatible only with our destruction.

The superior advantages of Romanism in its conflicts with Protestantism, arising out of its unity of plans and operations, ought to teach the Protestant churches in this hour of danger, and while

\* We explain our meaning fully enough by the following quotations:—

"The population of the parish of Westbury, in Wiltshire, England, amounts to eight thousand persons: there are three churches to serve and only one clergyman, whose living has been commuted at two hundred and thirty-five pounds per annum. The great tithes and estate held under the church amount to upward of three hundred pounds per annum, and are held by Mr. White," &c.—*Extract of the N. Y. Sun, Oct. 1844, from the Wiltshire Independent.*

Here we have one shepherd set over a flock of eight thousand sheep, for whose spiritual care he receives two hundred and thirty-five pounds, while more than three hundred pounds are extracted from them; a handsome compensation for doing *nothing*. This is one case out of thousands; and is it a wonder that Romanism under such circumstances makes such unexampled strides in England?

"Bishop Purcell last year informed the president of the Society for the Propagation of the Romish Faith at Lyons, that in St. Xavier's college, Cincinnati, there were about one hundred and fifty pupils, of whom more than one half were Protestants. If the same proportion obtains in the other Popish colleges in this country . . . we have every second year about eight thousand young people falling from the Protestant faith into the embraces of mother Church, (of Rome,) making a difference in the relative strength of the Protestant and the Popish Church of eight thousand souls every year."—*Christian Advocate and Journal, April, 1844.*

Is it then to be wondered at if the number of Romanists is swelled by accessions from the Protestant fold, and so many distressing instances occur every month of promising young men and women entrapped in the snares of Rome, and entering even convents and nunneries?

Why Protestants should be so anxious to open churches and schools in the furthest regions of the earth, while churches and schools are sadly wanted at home, we cannot, as Christians of common sense principles, understand.



this danger is still within their control, the necessity of a like union among themselves. If they should place their means, talent, and influence into a common fund, under a common direction, for their common defense, and the promotion of their own fundamental principles, Popery would soon go to destruction. Moreover, their own governments, in whose hands, as we have said, lies the fate of Popery, are under their control: at least, this is undoubtedly true in regard to the government of Great Britain. These governments have restored Popery to life, when no people under the sun wanted her resurrection, and thereby laid them under the responsibility of a moral and religious sin. As the interest of Protestant countries and the duty of the Christian churches now most undoubtedly coincide, why should they not take measures to redeem themselves from a passive guilt by compelling their ministry to leave Popery to her fate? So long as Roman Catholic powers made war on the pope for their own aggrandizement, worldly, though short-sighted, policy may have made it appear to the English ministry and others that it was their political duty to support the pope; but now the tables are completely reversed. And it is high time, indeed, that there should be some agreement between professions and actions among Protestants, and that the imputation of atheism and infidelity, which is very commonly cast on them by the Italians at home, on account of the iniquitous policy of the English cabinet in Italy, and the outrageous conduct of many English noblemen traveling in that country, should lose at least some portion of its truth.

As to the means for the accomplishment of its end, the society, as we see it most explicitly stated in its address, will employ those only that are in perfect keeping with the end itself, and therefore unexceptionable.

The first of these means will naturally be the circulation of Bibles, and other historical, dogmatical, and moral books on Biblical principles, and consistent with strict Christian morality.

The second, the establishment of missions and elementary schools wherever and whenever it can be done at an advantage, and especially in Italian territories under free governments, and in the large cities and sea-ports of Europe and America, where Italians are to be found congregated in large numbers.

The third, the ecclesiastical and secular press in this country and Europe. But the success of this movement is, and we must repeat it again in concluding, in the hands of the Protestants themselves; and the season is most propitious. Their governments must see that they have all along been fostering and nursing into life a viper, which has baffled all their calculations on its gratitude and harm-

lessness. The people of Roman Catholic countries, on the European continent, contemplate in dismay the giant proportions of that monster which mangled them in the preceding centuries so unmercifully, while their sovereigns themselves begin to feel hurt at its overbearance, and uneasy at its unmanageableness.

Let, then, we say, let from this land of Christian freedom, unfettered either by prejudices or interested prepossessions, go forth the cry, "Arise, ye slaves of the man of sin, come ye out of Babylon into the light and freedom which were provided for you, also, by our common Redeemer."

P. S. We have just learned from an authentic source that the Leopoldine society alone has contributed to the support of the Romish Church here during the past year about \$200,000. When we think of the moral and physical destitution of the larger portion of the Austrian empire, of the Slavonic and Greek populations in its neighborhood, of Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, &c., we cannot forbear declaring our honest convictions that this society has anything but a Christian object in view, and that it is an insult to the institutions and feelings of this country. It is a part and parcel of the great conspiracy set on foot by the Holy Alliance.

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#### ART. VI.—*Protestantism in Great Britain.*

(Translated from the French of "*L'Europe Protestante*," for the *Methodist Quarterly Review*.)

[THE following article will be found to contain a hasty sketch of the present condition and relative position of the Protestant churches in Great Britain. Many of the views presented are interesting and important, and we have no doubt will be appreciated by our readers. With the writer, we most heartily deplore the divisions among the different members of the great Protestant family. It is, doubtless, at this point that the Romanists thrust at us the most sorely. O when will Christians love one another "with a pure heart fervently?"

We do not, however, sympathize with all the alarms of the writer. The dissensions now pending upon the subject of state establishments, "the voluntary principle," &c., if they are conducted with Christian charity, will wake up a spirit in the British empire which will, we trust, by the good providence of God, work out the salvation of the country from its present embarrassments. We hope

the paper will impart lessons of instruction to the American churches. When have we ever been in such a crisis? Is it not time for the evangelical churches of this republic to lay aside all petty differences, to meet on the grand platform of the Reformation, and face the common enemy? Let charity be no longer wounded by our party feuds. Let us consult the common weal, and in the name of God rush to the fight already begun; and the God of battles will give us the victory.—*Ed.*]

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WE have just returned to Paris from a Protestant,—we may even venture to say, a Christian excursion in Great Britain; and our heart has been deeply affected by the divisions that are rife in the bosom of Protestantism in that vast, rich, and powerful country. We have visited a great number of its churches and chapels, have heard its Christian preachers, and have been present at those assemblies where every one speaks in favor of union, and where it might be presumed that Christian love would preside; still, we are compelled to deplore the absence of that evangelical harmony which should be the bond of union between those who acknowledge the same hope, the same Bible, the same heaven, the same Saviour. Our visits and observations have not been restricted to a single branch of the Christian church in Great Britain. Endeavoring to lay aside particular predilections, we have listened to, and conferred, and prayed, and united our voices and vows with the ministers of the churches of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. The chapels of Wesleyans, Catholics, Methodists, Independents, and Anabaptists, we have everywhere visited; and have sought to derive spiritual advantage from their lectures, sermons, prayers, and other acts of Christian worship, whether public or private. We have striven to banish the prejudices of youth, education, and habit, and to recognize facts as they exist, and parties as we have found them. We have devoutly prayed and sought for spiritual benefit from all these meetings; but *in general* the result of our journey has been painful and unsatisfactory.

We forget not the debt of gratitude due from us, as Protestant Christians, to the churches and societies of Great Britain. We love her hospitals, her charitable institutions, her dispensaries, her schools, her colleges, her universities. We see with joy her societies for the distribution of the Scriptures and pious books; those whose object is to promote peace, temperance, the progress of Christian instruction, and the abolition of slavery; as well as all her other moral and religious associations. With pleasure and admiration we contemplate their works and their progress, and are ready to



exclaim, "What hath God wrought!" We are of those who believe that Providence has given to Great Britain her commercial prosperity, the integrity of her territory, and her political power, as a recompense for her multiplied and persevering endeavors to spread the gospel over the earth, thus to give influence and force to her efforts. We never set foot upon the soil of Britain without thanks to Heaven at finding ourself again in the country of Bibles, missions, pious tracts, and religious education; and when we see the ten thousands of her people enter the house of God on the sabbath, we recall that great and terrible day of the Lord, the second coming of our God and Saviour, when a multitude which no tongue can number shall appear before him in white vestments and with waving palms, to render homage, and honor, and glory to Him that sitteth upon the throne and to the Lamb of God for ever.

As Protestant Christians, we have cherished in our hearts all the recollections and sentiments that attach to the position of the Christian churches of Great Britain. Never shall we forget those illustrious men who counted not their lives dear when called to defend the great and eternal truths of Christian Protestantism. For them the stake had no terrors; they shrank not from the horrors of the scaffold; fearlessly they marched to the funeral pile and were offered in sacrifice. They have left behind them holy examples of faith, hope, and love; and while we visited anew the places that witnessed their labors, their persecutions, their sufferings, and their death, we blessed God for transmitting to us the memory of their names and their virtues.

Our journey to Great Britain was not without other subjects of rejoicing. We were happy to see the increasing number of its Sunday schools, its churches, and its chapels; the attendance of an ever-increasing portion of its population on the preaching of the gospel; the awakening of religious sentiments in a multitude of districts; the more general observance of the sabbath; the increase of Bible and tract societies, and societies for the encouragement of abstinence from intoxicating liquors among the mass of the people. At Manchester we saw a sabbath school for a single district attended by *three thousand children*; and on leaving it we exclaimed, "With such an element of order, instruction, and piety, we fear not for Manchester." At Birmingham, where twelve new Episcopal churches will soon be erected,\* we witnessed the zeal of the clergy to facilitate the attendance of the mass of the population on divine service. Other facts might be noted, which we may remark upon

\* This article was first published in the original French in 1839.—T.

in the sequel of the observations we are about to present on the state of Protestantism in Great Britain.

But while we repeat, that the result of our journey to England has been *generally* painful and unsatisfactory, let us not be accused of indifference for the progress of truth, or of want of sympathy for the great cause of evangelical Protestantism in that country. We say that this visit has been generally painful and unsatisfactory, because the spirit of discussion, of violent controversy, and of rivalry, of antichristian separation, approaching almost to hatred, has taken such entire possession of the minds and hearts of the teachers of religion, that at every step of our progress the words of the apostle to the Gentiles occurred to our minds: "Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?"

Few persons now living can remember a period when there existed in Great Britain a more violent, bitter, personal, and general spirit of disunion than at the present. For example, the Church of England, the Episcopal Church of England, the first Catholic Church, (not Roman,) is divided into three distinct categories. These are in open rivalry; not to excite mutual emulation to redoubled zeal against their common and persevering adversary, the Church of Rome, but to vent their rage against each other; as though they had three distinct Deities, and not the same and only God for their heavenly Father—three different and opposite plans of salvation, and not one only plan revealed by our divine Redeemer. The Oxford Tract party has created a new and dangerous schism in the church. Its chiefs are men of great knowledge, of monastic erudition, well versed in the study of the ancient fathers, and deeply convinced of the necessity of an authority in matters of faith,—insisting on a rigid adhesion to the apostolic succession. The *Pusey* party, as it is called, has made many converts. We have conversed with several of its members; and as extremes meet, we have heard some of the newly converted declare that they had formerly been Dissenters, and had become so perfectly convinced of the necessity of an *authority* in matters of faith, by the succession of continual schisms and infinite divisions in the Dissenting body, caused by the want of this authority, that they were able to see no middle course between innumerable divisions and a return to the principles of authority defended by the Oxford divines. The chiefs of this party in the Church of England are ardent and despotic men. All who agree not with them are treated as schismatics; and if you point out to them the evil which must necessarily

result from this new schism in the church, in the presence of the common enemy, the Church of Rome, they reply : "The Church of Rome flatters and compliments us in order to injure us in the esteem of our Protestant brethren ; but it is not because she rejoices at our success, but, on the contrary, because she dreads us more than any other Protestant party, *on account of the near resemblance between her and us*, that she feels the need of flattering us, that other Protestants in the country may be on their guard against our doctrines, and hesitate to join us."

The Oxford divines seem to forget that, in this declaration, they admit the fact of a *near resemblance in their doctrines and principles to those of the Church of Rome*. They say : "The less we differ from the Papists, the nearer are we to gaining them to our opinions." We reply, This is a mistake. If the Papist recognizes so slight a difference between the doctrines of his own faith and those of the Oxford schism in the Church of England, he will hardly think it worth his trouble to abandon the religion of his fathers in order to adopt a faith so similar to his own in all important points. The Papists of the nineteenth century will not become converts to a faith which admits almost every article of their ancient belief. If they abandon their hereditary faith, it will be either for the adoption of skepticism or latitudinarianism, or for the reception of a Protestant Christian belief, pure, simple, and anticatholic. The middle course indicated by the Oxford divines has no attractions for the Papists : it resembles too much their ancient faith to tempt them by its novelty ; but differs sufficiently from it, however, to prevent them from mistaking the one for the other.

It is not our intention, in this article, to examine the series of tracts published by the *Puseyites* ; but we are anxious to express the deep regret we have felt for the schism caused by these men in the Church of England ; for the bitterness of sentiment and acrimony of language it has occasioned ; for the division it has sown between ministers and their parishioners. We regret the absurd importance attached to controversies of this kind by a considerable portion of the clergy, as if the point of greatest importance were not the salvation of the soul, but a continual contention on the discipline and government of the church ; and, finally, the encouragement given to Popish priests, who boldly put to the timid and uneducated Protestant the question : "Well ! what great difference was there between your ancient church and ours to cause a separation from us, the foremost in Christendom ?" The hesitating Protestant is not aware that it is not the Church of England that has separated from the Church of Rome, but that, with respect to England, the Roman Catholics have de-



tached themselves from the ancient Catholic Church. The Oxford divines have made their confession of faith so similar to that of the Roman Church, that the illiterate Protestant can scarcely discover the difference between *Puseyism* and *Popery*; and hence becomes an easy prey to the ever-active, ardent, and indefatigable proselytism of the Roman clergy. This schism of Puseyism in the Church of England is of recent date; its birth is but of yesterday, but its growth has been rapid, and it has already become a powerful auxiliary of Popery. We have conversed with many of its defenders, both lay and ecclesiastical, and have heard them declare that *the Papist is nearer to the truth than the Protestant Dissenter*. An incendiary, torch in hand, who wished to disturb the peace of a Protestant meeting, we have heard designated as an *unfortunate Papist*; and it has been maintained in our presence, that in proportion to the greater resemblance between the doctrines professed by the Puseyites and those of the Papists, will be the degree of credit gained by the former among the latter,—as if the truth should be clothed in a form as near as possible to that of error, in order to be better relished by its adversaries. Popish priests rejoice at this state of things, and are encouraged by the work of disunion and proselytism; this the Oxford divines are unable to deny. Why has the Propagandist Society at Rome consecrated its immense funds to the work of proselytism in Great Britain, and withdrawn its support from its other missions, leaving the faithful to maintain, as best they may, the cause of the Roman Church? It is because that society has acknowledged that its efforts for the conversion of Protestants in Great Britain had a powerful auxiliary in *Puseyism* and the tracts of the *Puseyites*. Having no doubt on this subject, we can have no motive to conceal our convictions.

The aversion of the old orthodox party, as it is called, in the Church of England to the evangelical party, is also a source of division and weakness. We have heard some of its members declare that they could not support "*L'Europe Protestante*," if it continued to publish reports similar to those of the Bible and missionary societies. During the last month we have heard language like this: "We prefer a Papist to a Puritan; we consider the Bible Society a dangerous institution and a cause of scandal; the circulation of the Scriptures without note or comment we do not consider desirable; and we fearlessly ask how the multitude can understand the Bible without explanation?" We have heard the same men declare that, in their opinion, the costume of his order should be forbidden to every ecclesiastic known to take part in a Bible society meeting; and that the Methodists and Dissenters were less cen-

surable than the ecclesiastic who, after accepting the charge of the ministry of his parish, should encourage by his subscription, his patronage, or even his silence, any auxiliary Bible society among his parishioners. This is Popery; it is placing human authority,—the fathers, tradition, and the injunctions of the church,—in opposition to the word and commandments of God. The dislike of the orthodox party for their evangelical brethren is a great source of evil in the Established Church; and in consequence of it many plans for the moral improvement of parishes and districts are rendered abortive. Want of union among the clergy prevents the realization of these plans; and instead of seeing Popery and infidelity prostrated by the united and simultaneous efforts of all the Protestant clergy, the cause of the Church of Rome is progressing amidst the divisions and discussions of those who should march together against their common enemy. Such is, unfortunately, the state of things in England in towns of from thirty to fifty thousand inhabitants, where a portion of the clergy is evangelical, while the other part adheres to the old church. We have seen, in several instances, members of opposite parties in the Anglican Church refuse to salute each other when meeting in the streets; and a much larger number practice a cold and ceremonious politeness, with which, as inhabitants of the same city, they cannot dispense. In this state of things, having no restraint, Popery and infidelity are sure of gaining ground. The Catholic priests are united; their aim is fixed and definite; they are endeavoring to extend the limits of their church, and their labors are not without success. Want of union and a good understanding between the evangelical school and that of the old church is not the only evil to be deplored. In consequence of the introduction of the Oxford schism and that of the Puseyites in the church, the clergy of the old church are not even agreed among themselves. Some are favorable to the Oxford school, and averse to intercourse with the Papists of their parishes; others are of a different sentiment. But these are poor curates, who have little influence, and who, not being ably supported, can oppose but a feeble resistance to the indefatigable perseverance of the Popish clergy. In the cities where immigration from Ireland is considerable, and where the number of English Papists has much increased, the Anglican clergy are so deplorably divided among themselves, that they are unable to concert measures to educate the rising generation of the Popish population in the truths of Protestantism,—to visit the houses of their parishioners of the Roman Church, to offer and explain to them the word of God,—nor even to exhort the Papist on the bed of suffering or death, and pre-

sent to his famished soul the holy truths of the Protestant religion. In such a city, the minister of one parish thinks the Papists not far from the truth; he is a partisan of the Oxford school: in another parish the minister considers the Papists attached to a dangerous error, and all his desires are for the propagation of the Protestant faith; but he is opposed to the circulation of the Scriptures, and loth to interfere in the spiritual affairs of persons out of his parish: hence it results that the instruction of Papists is totally neglected. In a third parish of the same city the minister belongs to neither of these categories; he is evangelical, and not of the Oxford school. He is consequently an object of aversion to the former two, who will second him in none of his plans, from a Bible association down to the establishment of a parish or sabbath school. Meantime infidelity and Popery are progressing. "See how we prosper!" say the Roman clergy, in triumph: and the fact of their perfect union, even in the promulgation of error, is, to a certain point, a guaranty of their success. In a city thus placed under the influence of an Episcopal clergy so deplorably divided, we have not cited an imaginary example. We have witnessed these facts in our recent journey through England, and a thousand similar examples may be seen in Great Britain.

The evangelical portion of the clergy of the Church of England are, in certain respects, exposed to the violent reproaches of their brethren of the old school. They are proscribed, and falsely represented as enemies of the church, semi-Dissenters, or disguised Methodists. In consequence of this imputation, their parishioners of the Established Church are often excited against them, refuse to listen to their instructions, and regard them with coldness and distrust. This diminishes the influence they would otherwise exercise over the people intrusted to their care, and creates a schism in the church by those who should be foremost to destroy its seeds. On the other hand, the evangelical members of the clergy do not always adhere to that line of duty with their brethren which they ought to follow, without compromising either their principles or convictions. Through fear of being repulsed, they often neglect the first steps toward union and a good understanding, and thus remain strangers to each other for the space of ten, fifteen, or twenty years. We have learned from unquestioned authority that clergymen of the same city live years together without intercourse; and this estrangement proceeds from no personal antipathy or private misunderstanding, but entirely from the opposition that exists between Calvinistic principles and the Arminian doctrines. This deplorable want of union has considerably weakened the influence of the clergy, and



increased the number of the adversaries of the Established Church.

If we consider the condition of the numerous Dissenters from the Anglican Church, we shall find sufficient cause of regret. The Socinians we can only recognize as nominal Christians and Protestants. This opinion may be charged with bigotry, but it is nevertheless correct. There should be but one standard of truth, and that can be no other than the Bible. The New Testament is not a Socinian book, and assuredly the Old is not. The predictions of the prophets concerning a future Messiah could not be accomplished by the birth, life, and death of a mere *man*. The prophets clearly foretold God manifest in the flesh; and if Christ was not the Messiah, then the Messiah of the Old Testament is yet to come. We would willingly reduce all controversy with the Socinians to this single argument; namely, whether Christ was or was not the Messiah foretold by the prophets. If he was the Messiah of the prophecies, he was God; if he was not the Messiah of the prophecies, he was but a man;—the Jews are correct, and the mass of Christians are in error. But no: though “despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief,” he was also the “Wonderful, Counselor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of peace.” Hence, in our remarks on the actual situation of Dissenting and Methodist Protestantism in Great Britain, we shall take no account either of the numbers or opinions of the Socinians. They are not Protestant Christians, according to the text of either the Old or the New Testament, and we have no other rule by which to judge opinions and doctrines. Judaism might with as much propriety be opposed to Popery as Socinianism; and it is remarkable that in England, as in other parts of Europe, a good understanding exists between the Roman Church and the Socinian heresy. Equally estranged from the truth, relying on human reason, and not on the wisdom of God, and the clear and unequivocal declarations of the Scriptures, they mutually support each other in attacking the truth as it is recognized by Protestant Christendom. We shall, therefore, have no more to say of the existence of the Socinian heresy than of the expiring sect of Free-thinkers, or the disciples of Joanna Southcote. When we speak of Protestant Dissenters we mean the *Independents*, the *Baptists*, the *Wesleyan Methodists*, the *Calvinistic Methodists*, of the two schools of Whitefield and Lady Huntington, and the *Quakers*.

We commence by deploring the painful disputes existing between the Independents, Baptists, and Calvinistic Methodists on the one part, and the Church of England on the other. At no period in

modern, and, we may add, in ancient times, have the quarrels between the Church of England and the Dissenters been so violent and acrimonious as at present. The questions of *tithes* and the *revenues of the church* have led to disputes so antichristian, and to scenes of such unheard-of fury and madness, that no one who has the great interests of religion at heart can fail to be painfully affected at such manifestations. These questions divide cities, parishes, districts, and even families; and so much importance is attached to them, that they separate and estrange fathers and sons, mothers and daughters. Ministers of the Independent, Baptist, and Calvinistic Methodist denominations preach against the Established Church, as though the church and fold of Christ contained no Episcopalians; and the clergy of the Church of England, forgetting their obligations to such men as Doddridge, Howe, and Baxter, fiercely attack the principle of voluntary support, and denounce those who uphold it as little better than heretics and blasphemers. The meetings of the Bible Society have hardly escaped the contagious influence of this spirit of disunion and controversy. We have heard Dissenting ministers say it was time to tear the veil from the pretended and affected harmony of these meetings; and members of the Anglican clergy have affirmed in our presence that they would no longer act in concert in any association of the church with Dissenters.

The consequence of such a state of things may be easily imagined. The multitude see only division and disorder, and when exhorted to connect themselves with Protestants, their reply is: "Who are the Protestants? Shall we unite with the church or the Dissenters? with the Methodists or the Calvinists? with the Baptists or the Independents? Shall we adopt the voluntary principle or the establishment of the church?" Who will answer these questions? No one. And what is the consequence? It is this: many take advantage of these divisions to enrol themselves under the banners of the Socinians or the skeptics, unless the Papists, still more active and zealous, succeed better, and persuade them to become members of *a church that is always the same*. To private Christians such a state of things is particularly painful. The spiritual state of the clergy and the Dissenters is deplorable. Their spiritual relations are feeble and vague; communion with God is neglected. Political or politico-religious meetings engross all their leisure; and instead of striving to win souls to Christ, the clergy of different denominations excite their flocks to resist the *secret ballot*, or to vote for or against the church, after the manner of worldly men in voting for an alderman, a mayor, or a member of parliament. What is this but a carnal and worldly employment?

Among the Independents, Baptists, and Calvinistic Methodists, there are doubtless many pious persons, as there are also among the Episcopalians. These persons desire above all things the salvation of their own souls, and that of the souls of their fellow-men. Were it otherwise, the state of the different sects of Protestants would indeed reach the lowest point of decline; but we are speaking not now of exceptions to the general rule, but of the general rule itself. Could a heathen enter some of the meetings of the Established Church or of the Dissenters, whether public or private, it would be impossible for him to believe that professions of love were made in both to the same Saviour, or prayers under the influence of the same Holy Spirit. The acknowledged fact, that in some of these societies much individual benefit is effected, and many souls are delivered from the death of sin by the preaching of the gospel in the bosom of the most opposing parties, is no reply to the grievous certainty that those who are thus converted remain in a state of infancy in Christ, their faith never arriving to maturity. The condition of the Protestant Christian churches in England is not one of soundness and vigor, but of enervation, resembling in its languor the dwarfed infant, the inodorous plant deprived of light, or the stunted tree, rather than the hale and vigorous man, or the stern and majestic oak, with its deep-set roots and wide-spread branches. Hence meetings for prayer are thinly attended, while assemblies which have a political aim are crowded to excess; hence also the limited time devoted to preaching in public worship, and to prayer and singing the praises of God,—two of the most important parts of sacred exercises.

The Baptists are too exclusive in their relations with other Dissenters. They make the question of baptism by sprinkling or immersion a vital question, forgetting that among the primitive Christians both modes were undoubtedly practiced. On the other hand, we have learned from a Baptist minister at Birmingham that a young woman, a servant, had been refused by her mistress, a member of the Independent Church, the privilege of attending the meetings for Baptist worship, and enjoined to partake of the sacrament in the chapel of the Independents, though the young woman had from her infancy been accustomed to the exercises of the Baptist Church. In some of the larger cities of England, and, we regret to say, in some of the smaller also, we have seen a Baptist minister quite estranged from his own mother in the Independent communion; not because they disagreed on any principal points of their non-conformist Protestant faith, but because they were divided in opinion on the manner of administering the ordinance



of baptism. We have questioned Independent ministers on the religious state of their brethren of the Baptist communion, and obtained no satisfactory reply. We have frequently interrogated a Baptist minister on the state of his Independent brethren, and he has acknowledged his total ignorance of everything that concerned them. It is a rare thing to see the Baptists and other Dissenters united as brothers against their common enemies, Popery and infidelity.

The Calvinistic Methodists, whether partisans of Whitefield or disciples of the celebrated Lady Huntington, are, in general, an isolated body. They are not increasing in numbers, and for the last twenty years they have built very few churches or chapels, except in Wales, where they are very numerous. They are, however, much more united, and are less narrow and exclusive in their prejudices, than some of their Independent and Baptist brethren, and are doubtless much more alive to the dangers and progress of Popery.

The Independents and Baptists have so long been accustomed to view the question of Popery in a political light, and as exclusively connected with Ireland, that it is almost impossible to induce them to consider it from another point of view. Attached, for the most part, to the Whig party in England, the Dissenters in general favored the great measure of 1829; and whenever they are invited to consider the increase of the Popish population in the United Kingdom, they obstinately persist in affirming that this increase is imaginary, and that the cry of *No Popery* is uttered only by the enemies of that measure. This is a lamentable and dangerous error on the part of the Dissenters; lamentable, because it is evidence of the confounding of political and religious questions, which should always be carefully separated; and dangerous, because it deprives of their assistance all the other Protestant sects and associations, in the efforts they are making to combat the common enemy. If the sincerely religious Protestant Dissenters of Great Britain would heartily unite with the truly pious members of the Episcopal Church, in all the judicious enterprises undertaken by the latter to prevent the progress of Popery, we should not see so great a number of new edifices consecrated to the Popish worship in that country as have recently come under our observation. The Roman priests are most successful in England in places where there is least union among the clergy of the different denominations. Those who have not sufficiently examined the question are often astonished that the truly pious Dissenters are so indifferent to the progress of Popery. But to us the reason is obvious; they choose

not to consider this matter as a spiritual and religious, but solely as a political question. The measure of 1829 is yet before their eyes; the opposition to that measure is still present to their memory. They insist that the adversaries of that act, which they term an act of political justice, are the only persons who affirm that the Roman Church is progressing. They refuse to examine the religious, spiritual question, such as it now presents itself, without reverting to the ancient political troubles of Great Britain. If the Protestant Dissenters would view this question in its true light, and consider it first as a question of fact, and afterward as a subject of immense importance to the spiritual interests of the true church of Christ, and if they would unite their efforts with those of the Episcopalians, it would be of great efficacy to restrain the torrent of infidelity and Popery that threatens to extend its ravages throughout the country.

The position of the Wesleyan body on the question of Popery is highly satisfactory and encouraging. There was a time when the Wesleyans were much less guarded than they are at present against the progress of Popery in Great Britain. But since the question of the Church Establishment has ceased to be agitated, and since they have unitedly sustained that institution, they have been led to examine more attentively the declarations of churchmen on the progress of Popery, and have seen them verified by the most undoubted facts.\* The efforts which the Wesleyan society are everywhere making to disseminate the knowledge of the truths of Protestantism will doubtless produce, with the divine blessing, great and important results. The secession from the ancient Wesleyan body has only purified the mass. As a society, the Wesleyans have lost nothing by the withdrawal of the WARREN party. Long previous to this separation there were among them a great number of discontented spirits, who aspired only to power, and whose efforts tended to diminish the influence of the conference, as well as its temporal and spiritual authority. Some among them, with Dr. Warren at their head, have formed a species of schism in the Wesleyan association; but their chief has already abandoned them;

\* Since the writer of this article visited England, considerable changes have taken place among the Wesleyan Methodists as to "the Church Establishment." The assumptions of the Pusey party, and the influence of that party over the government, as developed in the late *school bill*, have gone far toward alienating the affections of the Wesleyan Methodists from the Establishment. In this we rejoice, believing as we do that the sooner the church and state in Great Britain are entirely separated, the better it will be for the nation and the world.—*Ed.*

and although he may at first have attracted public attention by a violent pamphlet against the Church of England, he has since asked to be ordained as one of its ministers, and is occupied in collecting funds to erect a church. The bishop of Chester has promised to proceed to his ordination.

The Wesleyan Methodists are not, properly speaking, Dissenters from the Established Church. This fact has been long since demonstrated by one of the most illustrious and influential of their members, the Rev. Samuel Bradburn. But though they are not Dissenters in the ordinary acceptation of the word, they are at least separatists from that church. They neither admit the doctrine of the apostolic succession, nor acknowledge the king as temporal head of their church; they do not submit to ecclesiastical authority, and have a discipline entirely different from that of the Church of England. Thus, then, if they are not Dissenters, they are at least separatists. The Protestant Dissenters deny the necessity or the advantage of a state religion, and refuse to acknowledge a national institution in the Anglican or Episcopal Church; but in this they are not imitated by the Wesleyan Methodists, who, for this reason, have been called the Christian allies of the Church of England. By a portion of the Protestant Dissenters the Wesleyan Methodists are viewed with jealousy and distrust. The hierarchy of their conference is considered by some an imitation of the Anglican Church, and their generally favorable disposition to the established churches of England and Scotland offends the Independents and Baptists, and too often also the Calvinistic Methodists. Some of the ministers of the Wesleyan body appear deeply persuaded that their surest and most important allies are the clergy of the national church; while, strange to say, others among them are even more opposed to the church than their Independent and Baptist brethren. At London the secretaries of the different missionary societies, or at least the principal of them, unite to confer together on the interests of the great cause of missions throughout the earth. This is Christian and catholic; but this example is not followed in the counties of England. There the Wesleyan preachers remain often isolated both from the church and the Dissenters, being regarded by the former as too far from them, and by the latter as too near the Episcopalians. In this course of the two opposing parties there is neither wisdom nor charity. The Wesleyans are too powerful to be despised or oppressed. In a meeting held at Manchester, in 1838, by some of the principal men of the society, assembled from different parts of the kingdom, the enormous subscription of 750,000 francs was obtained. The object of this sum



was to celebrate the [then] approaching centenary of Wesleyan Methodism, by founding a mission house and a Wesleyan college, fitting out a missionary vessel, and discharging the debts of all the chapels in the communion.

The doctrines of the Wesleyans are too often misrepresented by churchmen and Dissenters. It is often said that they neither profess nor maintain in its integrity the great doctrine of the Reformation—that of *justification by faith*. This is untrue. That doctrine is the foundation of Wesleyan Methodism, and during the late tour through England we have heard it declared as such by the most distinguished ministers of that denomination. It must be acknowledged, however, that the ministers of the Wesleyan body in the provincial towns are not sufficiently careful to preserve a good understanding and fraternal feeling with their Episcopal brethren; while the latter often give proofs of the most deplorable ignorance concerning the Wesleyans and their doctrines. We have heard Dissenting ministers in some of the smaller towns confess their ignorance even of the name of the Wesleyan minister in the place; and the only reply to our question has been, “The Jews have no dealing with the Samaritans.” Did not Christ exhort those who loved him to love one another?

The Wesleyan Methodists are not in general of the same political opinions with the Independents and Baptists. They are for the most part more inclined to conservative opinions than the Dissenters. But should these differences in political sentiments, which ought always to be subordinate to religious considerations, prevent a friendly intelligence between those who are equally devoted to the same God and Saviour? And yet we have heard that in many parts of England the hatred of the Anglican clergy toward the Wesleyans exceeds all bounds, while in other places the Wesleyan ministers are careful to avoid the clergy. What would be the grief of the angels in heaven, if sorrow could enter their celestial abodes, to see the church of Christ thus divided and torn by those who make a profession of love toward Him who offered himself a ransom for all? We have heard members of the Anglican Church declare that the Wesleyans were no better than Papists; and Wesleyan ministers often exclaim, “Why, since they are so hostile to us, should we make so many efforts to live in harmony with the clergy of the Church of England?”

The Wesleyans, considered as a body, are gradually increasing. The division which existed for some time in their society, and occasioned the withdrawal of a certain number, excited alarm in the minds of some of the principal men; but it is evident that the mass

has not been affected by the schism, and we receive reiterated assurances that everywhere the Wesleyan body is in a sound and vigorous state. But though the Wesleyans are united among themselves, they are far from being so with their Christian brethren of other communions. The Independents, Baptists, and Calvinists are estranged from them, and they, in their turn, are rarely united with the Established Church. And with whom lies the blame? Sometimes with the Wesleyans, and at other times with the other sects; but, wherever the fault may lie, it is not the less a great evil, and cannot be too deeply deplored.

The Quakers, who remained so long united, are now also divided, and their condition is by no means satisfactory. We speak of their spiritual state, and of the parties among which they are divided. Independently of a Socinian separation, the first germs of which have shown themselves on the other side of the Atlantic, there exists another schism, of a character more orthodox and less dangerous, but which threatens, if not to overthrow, at least essentially to modify the doctrine and discipline of the Society of *Friends*.

At Manchester we have seen these dissenting Quakers united with their brethren of other dissenting communions to encourage the formation of a missionary society; and very zealous in favoring in every way the work of evangelization. Opposed as we are to every species of schism in the church of Christ, and deeply afflicted by every kind of division in Christian societies which have continued so long as that of the *Friends*, we are pleased, nevertheless, at the spirit manifested among these dissenting Quakers. We rejoice at their zeal for the salvation of their fellow-citizens, and at their activity in the cause of missions for their city. It is to be hoped, however, that they will continue, at least in some measure, to adhere to the great principles of the general body from which they have separated, especially in relying with confidence upon divine inspiration, and in imploring the aid of the Holy Spirit in all their pious efforts for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom. We have with pain remarked, that, with the exception of a partial union of the dissident Quakers with their Independent and Baptist brethren, the ancient as well as the modern members of this fraternity continue to live estranged from the members of the clergy, and from the ministers of every other Christian society. Assuredly such a course cannot but enfeeble that effusion of the Holy Spirit upon the churches, for which they are said to offer to heaven so many ardent prayers. God has promised his Spirit to those who seek it, but it is a Spirit of love, of mildness, of union, of fraternal kindness, sympathy, and charity.

And now what is the REMEDY for this deplorable and afflicting state of things in the church of Christ? A pious clergyman in the north of England inquired of us what would be the result of all these divisions, of this disunion, of these contentions and animosities, of these uncharitable and even hostile dispositions. We answered him as we now answer: All this must have an end, or God will "remove the candlestick" from Great Britain. But what are the best means to be adopted to put an end to such a state of things? We reply, first, Let the true servants of God, to whatever denomination they may belong, show themselves, and separate themselves from those who are simply political ecclesiastics, political Dissenters, political Methodists and Quakers. Let the children of God who are truly converted and sanctified withdraw from political clubs and associations; let them discountenance in their families all political discussions, or at least all violent debate on similar matters; let them unite in churches and chapels, in private houses, or in the sabbath schools, (a sort of neutral ground for all Christians,) to pray for the Spirit of union to descend upon them. Let them be present at all meetings for prayer for missions, whether of the Established Church, of Dissenters, or of Methodists; let them aid indiscriminately, and with all their means, all missionary societies, whether of Dissenters, Methodists, or the church; let them make a united effort, in concert with all, and to the extent of their ability, with one single and same desire and purpose. Let them wrest all hope from those who seek to sow divisions in the bosom of the church of Christ; let them refuse to take part in any association or committee that would tend to irritate and increase instead of healing the division between the church and the Dissenters, the Dissenters and the Methodists, the Methodists and the church. Let them withdraw their support from every publication, political, moral, or religious—from journals, magazines, or reviews, that use irritating language toward Protestant Christians of any denomination; let them, on the contrary, encourage publications founded on the principle of love and Christian union; let them establish journals for UNION, societies for UNION, seasons of prayer for UNION. Let them refuse to sign any political petition that contains injurious expressions against Dissenters, Methodists, or the church. Let UNION associations be formed in every parish of the kingdom, and the names of those be recorded who desire to live in union and Christian peace with their fellow-men, of whatever name or denomination among Protestant Christians they may be; let these UNION associations have for their object, 1. To cultivate in public and private a spirit of love and Christian fraternity; 2. The circulation



of tracts and other publications of a similar tendency ; 3. To unite once a week, in the sabbath school or the parish school of the district, to pray for the spirit of peace, of love, and of union to descend upon Christians ; 4. To admit new members who may be disposed to aid in this sacred cause ; 5. To relieve, in proportion to the means of these associations, the temporal wants of such of their members as may have suffered in consequence of their membership. It may be that in many districts of England the attempt to form such associations would encounter numerous obstacles ; but they would at length be formed, and multitudes, nay, millions of men would register in common their names, in the love of peace and union. That no one might be excluded, and that the poor might unite with the rich, it would be proper that no pecuniary subscription should be indispensable to membership in these associations ; let the subscriptions of the rich be in proportion to their wealth ; let the poor not contribute, or contribute according to their means ; let there be for each member no other title than that of a Christian, or of a man known as such, and who desires to become a member of this UNION.

Let rewards be offered to those who distinguish themselves by their zeal or activity in healing the wounds of Christian churches ; on this subject let sermons be preached, tracts published, and essays written ; let the members of these associations act in some sort as Christian arbiters between churches that differ, or between separate sections of the same church. By this means, those who trouble the peace of the church of Christ would find no support in the church itself ; and the friends of Christian harmony would never lack assistance in the execution of their plans or the accomplishment of their efforts. Such associations would meliorate the moral character of the country ; they would elevate the spiritual state of the church of Christ ; enfeeble or ruin the influence of political Anglicans, Dissenters, and Methodists ; calm the existing irritation, and, without impairing the independence of each member on all spiritual or Christian subjects, would lead them to feel more and more the superlative importance of living as true Protestant Christians.

If these UNION associations were thus established, it would be proper that they should be protected and encouraged by the church, by the conference of the Wesleyan Methodists, and by the committees of the members and ministers of the three dissenting denominations ; they should be openly approved by all these committees, who should invite individually each of their members to enter their names, and subscribe with the funds of their several

societies to similar establishments. By degrees all true Christians would become members, and an incalculable good would thus result to the church of Christ. These associations would gradually change the character of the Christian church; and instead of irritation, discord, and hatred, charity, love, and peace would spring forth. The points in controversy between the Church of England and the Dissenters, between the Dissenters and the Wesleyans, and between the latter and the church, are not of a nature to be decided by worldly men—by clubs or political parties. It was not thus that our Saviour or his apostles instructed us to heal such differences. No member of the Anglican Church can with sincerity say that a Dissenter cannot be a child of God; no Dissenter can conscientiously affirm that an Anglican cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. We are far from denying the importance—the immense importance—of a clear, positive, and just exposition of all religious questions; we are far from asserting that in what concerns religion and the salvation of souls there is anything of secondary interest; but we maintain that, when once a man has received by water and the Spirit a second birth, when the Holy Spirit has once sanctified the soul of that man, when he is once justified by God's grace, adopted into his family, and sanctified by his Spirit, and proves by his life that he loves the will of his Master, and labors for his glory, every other subject, opinion, and point of view is secondary; and that such Christians, whether Dissenters, Anglicans, or Methodists, should love each other as brothers, act as brothers, and unite as brothers against their common adversaries, infidelity and Popery.

In presenting these observations on the present state of disunion among the Protestant churches in Great Britain, we take God to witness that we have had no other object in view than to exhort our brethren to cast a serious glance toward the precipice to which they are hastening, and to retain them in the only path that can lead to spiritual union. May He in his infinite mercy grant that this object may be in part fulfilled by this feeble effort, and all the glory shall redound to His holy name.

ART. VII.—*No Church without a Bishop ; or, the Controversy between the Rev. Drs. Potts and Wainwright, with a Preface by the Latter, and an Introduction and Notes by an Anti-sectarian.* Octavo, pp. 176. New-York : Harper & Brothers. 1844.

THE controversy upon church government, which has been revived by the Oxford divines, and carried on with so much spirit and ability upon both sides, has not yet terminated. The public is however, if we understand the signs of the times, less excited upon the subject than it was twelve months since. Men, we hope, are now giving themselves to sober thought, and are carefully reviewing the whole ground. We are happy that the excitement has produced, or been the means of producing, so many able works upon the various topics directly or remotely connected with the main question, and especially that the *old authors* are called in to act over the part which they acted first upon emergencies similar to those by which we are surrounded at the present time. It is scarcely possible to say anything better upon the subject than that which was said by the great champions of Episcopacy on the one hand and of Presbyterianism on the other, during the period of the Protectorate and the reign of the Stuarts : since which, with our little research, we are not able to learn that one new thought has been added to the stock of knowledge upon the subject contributed by the extraordinary minds of that extraordinary age. But when the high-church pigmies of these times elevate themselves upon the shoulders of the giants of a former age, and flourish their swords and swing their caps, it seems but right, that the sons of the Puritans should assume the vantage ground won and defended by their fathers, and hold up their impenetrable shields, and throw their banners to the breeze. This is all that the circumstances require ; and as upon all former occasions, after a flourish of trumpets, our high-church opponents will throw themselves upon their reserved right of maintaining a dignified silence in relation to troublesome objections. But we must address ourselves to the task we have undertaken.

We fear that the mere title-page of the work before us will be all that many will desire to see. The controversy, as it was published in the newspapers, was so embarrassed with questions of mere etiquette, that its merits were scarcely appreciated. And the reader of the pamphlet, unless he has an extraordinary amount of patience, will do well to commence with Dr. Wainwright's "Essays" (page 75,) and follow on with the "Remarks" by Dr. Potts,



(commencing page 119.) He will find all that is of much value in this part of the work. The preceding portion consists mostly in a controversy in relation to the true issue pending between the parties, and the responsibilities which each had assumed. In his first communication Dr. Potts committed the fatal error of promising, in his turn, to prove that Dr. Wainwright's proposition—"there is no church without a bishop"—"is unscriptural, uncharitable, schismatical, and anti-republican." Though it is most evident that this was not to be the *first issue*—that Dr. Wainwright had given the first challenge, and that the simple question between the parties was, *Can there be a church without a bishop?* and that Dr. Wainwright stood pledged to take the negative of this simple question; yet, he so manœuvres as to hold Dr. Potts to the proof of what was naturally second in the order of the controversy, before he will proceed a step. And thus upon the question, who was the challenger, and who, "according to the laws of dialectics," was bound to proceed *first* to the business of *proving*, our champions had all but exhausted the public patience. But finally becoming thoroughly sensible that they stood in an awkward position, they rushed to the conflict. All these skirmishes were unfortunate at the time, and now, in the book, they present the unsightly aspect of a portico nearly as large as the house. Dr. Potts was evidently mistaken in his man. He expected no dodging—he looked for no Jesuitical arts—upon the open challenge of Dr. Wainwright, he made up for fair fight; but he subsequently found he had spoken a little too soon as to what he would prove on his part. This furnished a loop-hole through which his antagonist came near escaping, and would indeed have escaped, and left Dr. Potts to fight alone, if he had dared to do so. But knowing that he would leave the field with dishonor, unless he gave some little proof of courage, he held on until Dr. Potts proceeded to lead on the discussion upon his own propositions. After a short rencounter, our champions change their relative positions, and finally proceed in the discussion, as they should have done at first, Dr. Wainwright laying down his thesis and attempting to sustain it, and Dr. Potts following with his answers.

Of the relative strength of the combatants, we shall say nothing—their productions are before the public, and every one can judge of this for himself. We cannot, however, withhold the remark that Dr. Potts has written with spirit and ability, and is entitled to the gratitude of the evangelical churches. In this paper we shall find little occasion for referring to Dr. Potts' answers, as our principal object is to notice some of the positions of Dr. Wainwright and his note-writer.

Of Dr. Wainwright's "friend"—the "anti-sectarian"—who is the author of the "introduction and notes," we have no knowledge excepting as he shows himself in this pamphlet. Indeed we care not who he is, so long as Dr. Wainwright says, "I am willing to bear the responsibility of what my friend has done." This is all we ask, giving the doctor all the advantage he may derive from the intimation, that "in a change of place" he might not "have adopted his peculiar style of language." Of course we shall consider the note-writer a mere cat's-paw, for whose acts in this connection Dr. Wainwright is alone responsible. It is all one whether he is an entity or a nonentity, so long as we have a responsible person who vouches for him. We cannot, however, proceed to our main purpose without expressing our astonishment, that a gentleman of Dr. Wainwright's character and taste should have condescended to use such an instrument. For, not to say that in doing so he has committed himself to the most rabid Puseyism, and made himself responsible for the most reckless historical infidelity, he has also offended against the common decencies of all fair Christian controversy,—saying nothing of the barbarous English which he has suffered his "friend" to tack upon his skirts. A perpetual effort to appear smart, and an offensive affectation of wit, are some of the smallest of this note-writer's offenses. He asserts for historical fact what rests upon no authentic records; he assumes as self-evident what in this controversy is always denied, and what has often been disproved; and he always treats with the most sovereign contempt those whom he condescends to oppose. In the name of consistency, if this wise high-churchman has no respect for his opponents, why should he not respect himself—or rather, as *he is nothing*—a mere imaginary being—why does he not respect his friend whose cause he espouses? If he has any true respect for his dignified principal in this controversy, it is a poor way to show it, to make him bear the responsibility of mountains of fictitious history, fallacious reasoning, unfounded assumption, and vulgar abuse of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists. With specimens of these notes, merely to illustrate or confirm the truth of what we here alledge, we do not intend to mar our pages. The justice of our assertions will sufficiently appear from the references we shall make to the notes in our examination of the great leading sophisms of the book, so far as Dr. Wainwright's "friend" speaks for him.

We cannot attempt, in this paper, to notice all that is exceptionable in the positions of Dr. Wainwright and his "friend," or to treat at length the subject of the church, apostolical succession, &c.

These subjects we have treated at some length heretofore, and on this occasion our object shall be merely to point out a few high-church inconsistencies as found in the book before us, and to amplify the arguments which have been presented on former occasions.

The whole controversy naturally rests upon *the doctrine of the church*. Accordingly Dr. Potts asked of his opponent "three definitions," the first of which is, "What is the church?" But after all that Dr. Potts urged upon the importance of settling the question, the sum total of what he calls forth from his opponent is, that he uses the word church "precisely in the sense in which it is used in the standards of the church of which he is a member—these are contained in the Book of Common Prayer," (page 43.) This is a vague and unsatisfactory answer: for *first*, "the Book of Common Prayer" does not settle the point in controversy touching the nature and constitution of the church. The nineteenth article gives us the only formal definition of the church there is in the book, and that says nothing upon the subject of the *ministry*, which constitutes one of its essential parts. The article, some tell us, was designedly so worded as to embrace the foreign Protestant churches, which were without diocesan bishops. And the American Prayer Book explicitly recognizes the different denominations of Christians in this country as churches. So far from considering the Protestant Episcopal Church the only true church in the country, this standard only considers her as *one among many*.

But *secondly*, it should be observed, that the church "standards" are not embraced entire in the Prayer Book. The Homilies are recognized in the Thirty-nine Articles: and in the Homily on Whitsunday we have a definition of "the church," which adds to it attributes not found in the Prayer Book. There we have the addition of "discipline," which of course very much abridges the extension of the term church; as, according to a principle in logic, increasing the comprehension of a term diminishes its extension. This is all we shall urge here upon this point: we have elsewhere shown, as we think, conclusively that neither Romanists nor churchmen have settled the question among themselves, "What constitutes the church?" Now how can these gentlemen expect, that all the world will at once recognize in their organization the essential "notes of the church," until they settle among themselves what these notes are, and the means by which they are to be determined? Is not this demanding too much? We assert, that the church authorities are vague, and inconsistent with each other, upon this great fundamental point, and so long as this is the fact, it is an insult to common sense to assume, as most high-church writers do, that the attributes or



"notes" of the church are fully settled and determined, and that no one can now call their claims in question without being implicated in heresy. Dr. Wainwright says, "We attach to the words the church, &c.," "a definite meaning." Nothing further from the truth. Go to the Book of Common Prayer, to the Homilies, to Dr. Field, to Bishop Taylor, and to Mr. Palmer—all church authorities good and true—and in each instance you will find an independent theory of the church, and no two of them consistent with each other. Those who can take the famous catholic rule of Vincentius, *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus, creditum est*—and upon an application of it to any one theory of the church, maintained either by Romanists or churchmen, can adopt that theory, must be without one grain of common sense, or, at least, so completely blinded by prejudice as to be wholly incompetent to the work of reasoning upon the plainest facts. Now would it be thought possible, under these circumstances, for our high-church friends to screw themselves up to such a pitch of bigotry and fanaticism as to claim that they are "*a divine society*," and to contrast all other churches with theirs, as mere "human institutions?" (See p. 22, notes.) What attestations have they to the *divinity* of their "society?" We believe they do not claim miraculous powers, nor that their pretensions are settled by explicit warrant from the Bible. Yet, it seems, they have in some way been able to satisfy themselves that God is the immediate founder of their church, and that all other Christian associations are mere human institutions, "like temperance, abolition, or sewing societies!" Now, where is their warrant? We challenge them, if they have any, to produce it: let them at least tell us what test the great Head of the church has authorized, which, when applied to their society and to other Christian societies, proves the first "divine," and the latter "human."

But these high-churchmen seem to themselves to have the whole ground, by the concession of "the sects," in their avowal that "the church is a voluntary association." We fear these learned gentlemen do not labor very hard to comprehend the sense of this proposition. All evangelical denominations most certainly believe the church—which is the body of Christ—and which is made up of "*faithful men, cœtus fidelium*," *congregation of believers*, to be a *divine institution*, constituted by God himself. But they claim no divinity for particular forms of church organization, which are the result of human opinions, as to the sense of the Scripture with regard to the government of the church. And "the church," so called by its supporters by way of eminence, is just as much "a voluntary association" and "a human society" as any other. And

indeed, if the assumption of a human headship, and the development of "king-craft" and "priestcraft," in no small proportions, are evidence of "human origin," "the church—the catholic church," so called, bears upon every lineament of her face the infallible signs of almost any other than a heavenly origin.

Indeed, Dr. Wainwright's "friend," in his great zeal for apostolical prerogatives, has occasionally made concessions which seem to indicate that there is, after all, some human mixture in this "divine society." The following is a specimen :—

"The church, not being perfect nor infallible, the American branch doubtless needs such a reformation, that twenty-two apostles will no longer be trammelled by the opinions of lawyers and other laymen, when they are taking measures to continue the apostolic line, by sending missionary bishops, according to the method of the gospel, and of the primitive church, to such destitute regions as Texas, Africa," &c. —P. 167.

It is a pity this "*divine society*" were not "infallible !" But it is passing strange that "twenty-two" real "apostles" should be so "trammelled by the opinions of lawyers and other laymen," that they are not able "to take measures to continue the apostolic line according to the method of the gospel and the primitive church !" What can be done to effect "such a reformation" in "the American branch" as to save "the apostolic line" from a final termination ? These naughty "lawyers and other laymen" are truly making sad work in this "divine society !" If they go on at this rate they will really break up the apostolic succession, all the power and wisdom of our "twenty-two" living "apostles" notwithstanding. How in nature came this mischievous element incorporated into the policy of the "divine society ?" Has not the great Head of the church said to the "apostles" of the church in all ages, "Lo ! I am with you always, even to the end of the world ?" And does not this imply that "the apostolic line" shall always be continued ? and that nothing shall be permitted to interfere with it down to the final consummation ? Has Christ forgotten his promise ? and are our "twenty-two apostles" so seriously impeded in carrying out the objects of their high commission ? Pause a little, dear sir. Look back to the history of the acts and doings of the *apostle of New-York* during the last year. Just remember who he made these "lawyers and other laymen" cower, in the convention of 1843 ; and how gloriously he carried out the objects of his apostolical commission in the *Carey ordination*. See what stern stuff "apostles" are made of, and then give over your fears as to the continuance of "the apostolic line." With a little of your aid, our

"twenty-two apostles" will most certainly bring about "a reformation" in "the American branch." And then "that which letteth"—"lawyers and other laymen"—"will be taken out of the way;" until which may you in patience possess your soul.

We shall next notice the boast made, upon the part of our high-churchmen, of apostolical origin. Their church, they say, was instituted by Christ, but "the sects" have all sprung up since. We know when they arose, and whence they came. Thus Dr. Wainwright:—

"It is true that we believe in one only visible church of Christ. We believe that it is unchangeably constituted and organized by Christ himself. We believe that it will continue one to the end of the world. And we do not believe that the various communities around us, which have sprung up at different times within the last three hundred years, and which continue to spring up every year, calling themselves churches, are so in fact. They are without Christ's organization and ministry. Their organization and ministry are recent—of yesterday. Whereas Christ organized his church eighteen hundred years ago."—Pp. 60, 61.

And thus his note-writer:—

"Whence this claim? whence this abiding sense in the church of her own perpetuity? The sects have it not. The Methodists had their *first centennial* celebration a few years ago; and the sects celebrate the Reformation as their origin. When did the church celebrate as her birth-year and birth-place anything but A. D. 1 to 300—Jerusalem and Antioch."—P. 142.

This is the favorite strain of the high-churchmen of the present day; and where they learned this lesson, any one at all acquainted with the Romish and Protestant controversy will easily determine. The Romanists asked the reformers, "Where was your religion before Luther?" Ours, say they, came from the apostles, yours came from Luther. We go upon the maxim of the fathers, "That which is old is true, and that which is new is false."

The answer which the reformers gave the Romanists is the same we give our Puseyite adversaries: *Your* religion is the *novelty*—ours is the old, the pure religion of Christ and the apostles. You had corrupted the simple institutions of the primitive Christians—we have restored them. We can mark as certainly, in the faithful records of history, when your corruptions were introduced, as you can when our great reformers delivered the church from the pressure of the superincumbent mass. Evangelical Protestantism is the old Christianity, and the evangelical churches, in all essential respects, are conformed to the churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, &c. From this immovable foundation, Dr. Wainwright,



with all the help his friend, the note-writer, can lend him, will never be able to remove us. It is indeed a very easy method of disposing of this whole controversy to assume, that "the church" was established by *Christ*, and the sects by *men*—that the one is a *divine*, the other a *human* institution—that such as the Church of England now is, such she was when she was organized by some primitive apostle, and such she has ever been. And all must concede, if this ground is tenable, the controversy between churchmen and "the sects" is at an end. But this assumption, in an argument upon the points at issue, is a perfect burlesque upon all fair discussion. Whether found in a Roman, or Anglican, or Anglo-American Catholic, it deserves rebuke, as a most pitiful and shameless *petitio principii*. Why are these gentlemen unwilling to meet us upon the arena of Scripture, and settle the controversy there? Dr. Wainwright concedes the competency of the Scriptures to decide the controversy, and yet upon the start he takes ground which, if tenable, determines the matter in dispute without this umpire. If the Bible is to determine which of us is in accordance with the primitive pattern, why then let us go to the Bible and discuss the matter upon a footing of perfect equality, and let him who is best sustained by that infallible standard be considered as having the best claim to an apostolical origin.

Not that we shrink from a thorough historical investigation of the assumptions of our high-church opponents. We have the history of *their* origin and succession, and can read and understand it. We know when the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church arose, and the circumstances of their origin; and we know that they are no more of apostolical origin than the Methodist Episcopal Church, or the Congregational churches of New-England. In all those respects in which they are peculiar, they are modern institutions; and to us it is perfectly obvious, that, according to their understanding of the rule which they, in common with Romanists, adopt—viz.: That which is old is true, and that which is new is false—they must bow to Rome, and ought at once to acknowledge that they have been in schism, and have maintained, ever since the days of the Reformation, destructive heresies.

In order to sustain his proposition—"Non ecclesia sine episcopo—There can be no church without a bishop"—Dr. Wainwright must assume *the apostolical succession*, that is, a regular and unbroken succession of bishops from the apostles to the present time. This is the corner-stone of the high-church theory, and consequently is dwelled upon with great emphasis. It is admitted by these gentlemen, that if the line of bishops should be broken, the church

would be annihilated, and the ordinances would cease. Of course the evidence which we now have that the church has survived the revolutions of time, and that the sacraments are now validly administered, must depend upon the evidence we have that the line of bishops has been preserved without interruption from the holy apostles. But this work devolves upon our successionists themselves. The laboring oar is in their hands, and how skillfully they use it may be seen in their numerous publications. Their principal Scripture argument is founded upon our Lord's commission to the apostles, "Lo, I am with you always," &c. How certainly this proves that there would "always" be a *succession of prelates* in the church, who alone should have the power of conferring orders, and that wherever this deposition is lodged—whether with a saint or a sinner, a Christian or a heathen—there is the sanctifying presence of Christ; there the sacraments are truly efficacious and saving—we leave for all to judge. For ourselves, we believe this promise applies to all true ministers of Christ, of whatever grade, and so the fathers interpreted it. But we cannot delay upon this argument, if a mere unfounded assumption should be called an argument.

The Romanists from this same passage, and with equal skill, prove the *infallibility* of the church. Our old English divines meet them by saying the text proves no such thing—it only proves that Christ is with *His* church and ministers; but this does not make out that even the church of Christ is infallible. "But the Romish Church, being not the church of Christ, it cannot challenge to itself the *presence* of Christ, much less the infallibility she claims for herself." The same plain common-sense reasoning is equally effectual in reply to the argument of our successionists. The promise not being made to bishops, or exclusively to any other grade of ministers now in being, can never prove a continuous line of such ministers. Indeed, the passage is totally irrelevant to the point in hand.

The historical argument is equally extraordinary. They tell us the succession of bishops could not have failed, because the maxim, *Non ecclesia sine episcopo*, was a maxim in the primitive church; and the apostolical traditions, and the canons of ancient councils, confine orders to bishops, and make this third order essential to the being of a church. Supposing this to be conceded, will it not still devolve upon our successionists to prove that in preserving the succession, the maxims and canons of the primitive church were sacredly regarded? This we opine the wiser sort of them will not undertake. Indeed, they all take the liberty, when pressed with

difficulties, of dispensing with the most ancient and explicit of "the canons of the universal church!" And this, as the reader will see presently, they are obliged to do, or their chain of ordinations flies into a thousand pieces.

We have on former occasions referred to the difficulties of making out the succession upon canonical principles. We will now state the case more at large. Our successionists maintain, that the canons of the first six general councils, and the apostolical canons, are an imbodiment of the *apostolical traditions* upon the order and discipline of the church; that they contain what had been received from the apostles themselves, and kept uncorrupted by their successors.\* We will now give several canons which relate to ordinations from these high authorities.†

"CANON I. Let a bishop be ordained by two or three bishops."

"XXIX. If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, shall obtain possession of that dignity by money, let both him and the person who ordained him be deposed, and also altogether cut off from all communion, as Simon Magus was by me Peter."‡

"XXX. If any bishop obtain possession of a church by the aid of the temporal powers, let him be deposed and excommunicated, and all who communicate with him."

"XXXIV. The bishops of every nation must acknowledge him who is first among them, and account him as their head, and do nothing of consequence without his consent; but each may do those things only which concern his own parish, and the country places which belong to it. But neither let him [who is the first] do anything without the consent of all; for so there will be unanimity, and God will be glorified through the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Father through the Lord by the Holy Spirit, even the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

"XXXV. Let not a bishop dare to ordain beyond his own limits, in

\* Of the apostolical canons Dr. Wainwright says, "They were composed very early, and were gathered together about a century after the death of St. John, it is said by Clement of Alexandria. A century after that, they were quoted as very ancient. Learned men have decided, that there can be no doubt of the authenticity of these canons."—P. 90.

† We quote from a work which has the following title: "Definitions of faith, and canons of discipline of the six œcumenical councils, with the remaining canons of the code of the universal church. Translated, with notes. Together with the apostolical canons. By the Rev. William Andrew Hammond, M.A., of Christ Church, Oxford. First American edition; to which are added, the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical of the Church of England, and of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.—James A. Sparks, 109 Nassau-street, New-York. 1844."

‡ "Me Peter"—who can ever doubt the *apostolical* origin of these canons after this? Surely *Peter wrote this canon*, or it must be considered an *impious forgery*, and it would be horrible *sectarianism* to dream any such thing.



cities and places not subject to him. But if he be convicted of doing so, without the consent of those persons who have authority over such cities and places, let him be deposed, and those also whom he has ordained.

"XXXVI. If any person, having been ordained bishop, does not undertake the ministry, and the care of the people committed to him, let him be excommunicated until he does undertake it."

*Def. Faith, Apost. Can., pp. 190, 193, 194, 195.*

"IV. It is most proper that a bishop should be constituted by all the bishops of the province; but if this be difficult on account of some urgent necessity, or the length of the way, that at all events three should meet together at the same place, those who are absent also giving their suffrages, and their consent in writing, and then the ordination be performed. The confirming however of what is done in each province belongs to the metropolitan of it."

"XVI. If any bishop shall dare to usurp what belongs to another, and to ordain in his church any such person without the consent of the proper bishop from whom he has seceded, let the ordination be void."

*Def. Faith, Can. Nice, pp. 33, 38.*

"XIII. Let no bishop dare to pass from one province to another, and ordain any persons in the churches to the dignity of officiating, not even if he bring others with him, unless he has come upon a written invitation from the metropolitan, and the other bishops of the country into which he has come. If, however, no one inviting him, he shall proceed disorderly to the ordination of any persons, and to the regulation of ecclesiastical matters which do not belong to him, the things which are done by him shall be annulled, and he himself suffer the punishment proper for his insubordination and unreasonable attempts, being deposed forthwith by the holy synod."—*Ap. Can. 35.*

*Def. Faith, Can. Antioch, pp. 172, 173.*

These canons settle certain principles, which we suppose were originally considered, and ought now by all true churchmen to be considered, necessary to the validity of ordinations. These are :

1. That it shall require at least two bishops to ordain another bishop.

2. That no bishop has any authority to ordain out of his own province; but if he passes over these bounds and ordains, he shall be excommunicated, and his ordinations be considered null and void.

3. That if a bishop, elder, or deacon obtain his dignity by money, he shall "be altogether cut off from the church."

4. If a bishop obtain a church by the interference of the temporal powers, he must be deposed and excommunicated, and all who communicate with him.

No canons can be more explicit than these, and none have been more frequently repeated by subsequent councils; and that it was maintained that adhesion to the principles of these canons was

necessary to the validity of ordination is susceptible of the clearest proof. The Council of Antioch says, "If things be done contrary to the established rule, the ordination shall be null."—Can. xix. And Gregory Nazianzen says, "This man, indeed, may have a *nominal* succession, but the other has the very thing itself, *the succession in deed and in truth*. Neither is he who usurps the chair by violence to be esteemed in the succession; but he who is pressed into the office; not he who violates all law in his election, but he who is elected in a manner consistent with the laws of the case."\* Here we see that the validity of "the succession" depends upon the conformity of the election and ordination with "the laws in the case." To the same effect we might quote numerous authorities. We would refer the reader especially to St. Cyprian, who rests the claim to divine sanction upon the fact, that ordination is canonical. According to him, that which the bishops do *according to rule* is done by Christ, and on the other hand, that which is done contrary to canonical order is null from the beginning; and it is clear that this is as truly a catholic canon as any upon record. But we must not enlarge; we have said that our successionists must prove that their succession is canonical, in order to prove that upon catholic principles they have a church and valid sacraments. But we will not leave them to do this at their leisure. We will proceed to prove, that their succession is uncanonical and invalid, and consequently that they have no church or valid sacraments, upon their own premises.

In the first place, Austin, the monk, who was the first Romish archbishop of Canterbury, was, according to Bede, ordained by the archbishop of Arles, and, as far as we know, without the help of any other bishop. This same Austin ordained two bishops for Britain, also without the help of other bishops. That Austin ordained these bishops alone is evident from the fact that he asked instructions of Pope Gregory as to whether, if it were difficult for foreign bishops to be present, "the solemnity of the consecration ought to be performed by a single bishop." To this Gregory answered: "As for the Church of England, in which you are as yet the only bishop, you can no otherwise ordain a bishop than in the absence of other bishops."† And it is not to be presumed, that this liberty of dispensing with the canon granted by the pope was not used. The canon requires, that "two or three bishops" be present at the ordination of a bishop; but here Augustin ordains

\* Quoted by Dr. Potts, (p. 128,) but powerfully let alone by our note-writer.

† See Bede's Hist. Eccl., cap. xxvii. And Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, vol. i, p. 158.

"a bishop—in the absence of other bishops." Here is a violation of a plain canon of "the Catholic Church" in filling up the links of the English succession. To get rid of this difficulty, our high-churchmen take the liberty of setting this canon aside. Our learned note-writer tells us, that "if only one bishop was consecrated by a bishop in the apostolic line, then the last consecrated would be a true bishop, as any one will see on examination."\*—P. 133. So indeed, if the canons can be disposed of at discretion. This is the way these catholic churchmen treat the established canons of the Catholic Church! They can knock down platoons of canons, fathers, councils, and apostolical traditions, when they stand in their way. What wonderful "catholics" are Dr. Wainwright and his "friend!" What a profound respect they must have for "the definitions of faith and canons of discipline of the canonical councils!" But "the apostolical succession" must be sustained, canons or no canons.

But what is still a greater defect in the Romish succession in Britain, is, that it superseded and forced out of existence the true British apostolical succession. All their catalogues trace their succession to Augustin, who was a foreign bishop, and could have no right to ordain in Britain, and whose ordinations there were *null* and *void*, according to the canons above quoted. It must be borne in mind, that our high-churchmen maintain that the gospel was planted in Britain in apostolic times, probably by St. Paul; and that there was a regular succession of bishops preserved in the British isles from this time down to that of the mission of Augustin. Of course, as they also concede, Augustin had no canonical authority there, nor had Pope Gregory any more right to the territory than one of the British bishops had to Rome. Dr. Wainwright has given us the whole theory and a condensed history of the different periods of the British ecclesiastical history, in an Appendix, which is so full of instruction that we will give it here entire. The whole taken together is a full concession of the nullity of the English succession upon the principles of the canons of the Catholic Church. There is, however, much fictitious history in it, as we will show from the best authorities. This is the "Appendix:"—

\* Mr. Chapman, who has given us a learned book upon "The Organization and Order of the Primitive Church," says, "Doubts have been raised by some theologians, whether ordinations by *one* bishop are valid; but, as seems to us, without sufficient reason. They would be *uncanonical*, and therefore *irregular*, but still valid."—P. 286, note. This expedient to save the British ordinations is a grand concession. For though these ordinations are, according to this doctrine, not invalid, they are "*uncanonical*" and "*irregular*." Such ordinations would not have stood the test during the Cyprianic age, where *canonical irregularity* invalidated ordinations and sacraments, and excluded the offender from the Catholic Church.



## THE ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND.

## FIRST, OR APOSTOLIC PERIOD.

Page 21, col. 1, 1st part. "Now it is certain that the orders of the Anglican Church have come down through the Roman Church."

A. D. 52, and sixteen years before St. Paul was beheaded under Nero, A. D. 68, and nine years after St. Peter could first have been at Rome, A. D. 43, (see Prof. Tholuck's Introduction to Commentary on Romans,) a British prince was baptized, *Lucius*. This, then, was while apostles were yet alive, and almost half a century before the venerable head of the apostle John was laid in the dust. Next, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, and Hilary, speaking from distant ages, tell us of churches of Christ in Britain. Theodoret says they were founded by apostles. No authority or historian, after the New Testament, can have greater weight than these.

## SECOND, OR BRITISH PERIOD.

Three British bishops, of London, York, and Lincoln, represented the church in Britain at Arles, A. D. 314. A. D. 359, in the synod at Ariminum, British bishops were present. In the fifth century, Germanus and Lussus, bishops from Gaul, visited Britain for the purpose of aiding the British bishops against the heresy of Pelagius. A. D. 432, the Irish churches were founded by Patrick. Such are the apostolic origin and first history of their foundation.\*

## THIRD, OR SAXON PERIOD.

The pagan Saxons persecuted the Christian Britons. A conquered people always fly to the mountains and the isles. Christianity fled to Wales and Iona, and other northern islands. Who has not heard of Columba? But some Christians remained among the heathen Saxons, and "Theonus was bishop of London and Thadiocus of York, about A. D. 586." The Britons made many efforts to convert the Saxons. Kentigern was also bishop in Glasgow and Cumberland.

## FOURTH, OR ROMAN PERIOD OF USURPATION.

Thus far the British Church has had no connection with Rome, and of course does not originate from that city. When the church of Christ in the heptarchy was 547 years old, i. e., A. D. 599, the first mission from Rome was accomplished. It was begun a few years sooner, and the well-known story of Gregory, who thought that the *Angle* slaves should be *Angels*; that, coming from *Deira*, they should be saved from *Dei ira*; that, being subjects of the Saxon king, *Ella*, they should sing *Alleluia*, seems the first record of a Roman presbyter's thoughts on this theme: (see Hume.) Gregory himself set out for Britain, but a tumult of the people called back the beloved presbyter, and he became bishop of Rome before that novelty Popery was heard of. He sent Austin and forty monks; they reached Paris, and, despairing of the conversion of the barbarians, begged to be recalled.

\* Palmer, vol. i, p. 215. London, 1838.

Their bishop, Gregory, denied them, and urged them on. Hearing that Ethelbert, king of Kent, had married a French Christian princess, Bertha, Austin resolved to go thither first. The devoted missionary landed barefooted in England, (and if a missionary bishop must have a salary in order to be sent,) he preached in the open air to Ethelbert on the throne, and "a nation was born in a day;" for the king and ten thousand Saxons were baptized. Seven British bishops met and conferred with Austin: (Bede, 2d book.) Therefore the British Church was far from extinct when Austin was sent from Rome. Augustin himself was not consecrated at Rome, but at Arles, the bishop of Lyons, a *Greek*, and not a Romish colony, assisting. When, by the king of *Kent*, chosen to be first archbishop of *Canterbury*, he strove to bring the British bishops to receive Boniface III., the first pope, they refused, and, in the memorable language of Dunodd, abbot of Bangor, remains to us: "We owe allegiance to the bishop of Rome, and to every other Christian man, *to love him*; but our bishop is Caerlon."\* This last name may, or may not be, correctly spelled. It was a similar name; but we write from memory, the book not being at hand. It should be reprinted here. Thus the Church in Britain, persecuted by pagans, was at last visited by an apostle from the primitive, but not Papist, Church at Rome. Austin founded or revived the churches of Canterbury, Rochester, London, &c.

Irish missionaries founded churches at Lindisfain or Durham, Lichfield, York, &c., or revived them. Scotland received Christianity from the Irish and Saxon Churches: (Dr. Johnson.)

The British and Saxon Churches disagreed at first, which gives the best proof of their separate existence and foundation: one dating its origin from the apostolic age, and the other from the un-Papist Church at Rome. They united, and were everywhere confessed as a pure *branch of one catholic tree*. They have existed ever since. Their acts in each age are history. In Wilkins's Concilia these acts are found from A. D. 440 to A. D. 1717. They ordained bishops, held synods, corrected abuses, enforced discipline; they were protected by kings' charters, &c., &c. They never separated from the catholic tree, but the pope himself cut off his withered and feeble branch; 80 only out of 12,000 clergymen. Britain, Gaul, Rome, are the mothers of the Church in England. The eldest is British and apostolic. Nay, the three are apostolical.

As to Rome, who that knows the ancient laws of England does not recall the acts passed in each century against the usurpations of the Roman pontiff? Does not the first article in Magna Charta guaranty the "rights of the Church of England?" And even John, who cowered beneath the stern glances and before the spears of his own barons at Runnymede, dared oppose in the 13th century the arrogance and exactions of Rome. An interdict convinced him that the old minister at Rome was yet too strong for the tyrant, and brought him to the feet of the pope. Three centuries and more rolled away before bluff Harry, wicked Harry, sensual Harry, did what John could not do—cast

\* See translation of the Welsh manuscripts, printed lately at London.

off the *usurped* power; and declared that, as the bishop of London was not the bishop of Rome, neither should the bishop of Rome be bishop of London; i. e. the Romish bishop hath no jurisdiction in England. And yet this brutal and beastly tyrant was "the defender of the faith," and we have had in our hand the very copy of his book which he sent to the pope. He lived a persecuting Papist, and died a bigoted Romanist. But he drove the schismatical bishop of Rome out of other men's dioceses. He was for the state, like his successors, head of the church; but in spiritual matters the king is no more than any beggar, who is not ordained a minister of God. Can he preach or baptize? Never. Thus the church has gone on from A. D. 52 to 1844. The Essays contain the history from the Reformation. See Essay, &c.

No wonder she hath a deep, settled, unshaken, and immovable conviction, and an abiding sense of her apostolicity and her perpetuity.

*Esto Perpetua. Perge modo.*

It is plainly sheer ignorance, or folly, or wickedness, (if well informed,) to belie the church of Christ! How great is their loss, and their sin, who, with these facts (and history ever endures, for "facts are God's footsteps") before their eyes, talk of Henry the Eighth's Church, or, like our Dr. Potts, of Pope Henry VIII! It is worse than senile folly and credulity. So the Romanists, when they ask, "Is not your Protestant" a new term? we confess it, and answer, It is not in our standards. We "believe in the Holy Catholic Church, and one apostolic," and no more. That some timid, prudent, and, not to judge them, time-serving, well-meaning men, inserted "Protestant" in the title-page (for it is nowhere else) of our Prayer Book, was their fault; and it will not be ours, if the attempt to erase it, and other un-Catholic alterations, should fail; the attempt will be made; the folly of resisting it will lie with its rejecters. Time will give truth the upper hand. But when the Romanist says, "Where was your church before Luther?" we can answer, as Usher the Jesuit, or the English knight at Rome, "Where yours was not—in the Holy Scriptures."

Now in this piece of history it is asserted that "the British Church had no connection with Rome" until "A. D. 599;" "the British Church was far from extinct when Austin was sent from Rome;" there were three "British bishops" who held their sees according to apostolic order; and they "refused" submission to the "pope" and his "archbishops." The question is, then, how could Archbishop Augustin have any ecclesiastical authority in Britain? Indeed, our high-churchmen concede all we ask upon this point. Dr. W., in his history, tells us that Henry VIII.—"bluff Harry—drove the schismatical bishop of Rome out of other men's dioceses." But "the schismatical bishops of Rome" had enjoyed these "dioceses" through the whole period which intervened between Augustin and "bluff Harry"—a period of nearly a



thousand years. What in the mean time had become of the original owners of these "dioceses?" They had been extinct for centuries. They were indeed principally destroyed by the army of the king of Kent soon after Augustin, in the pope's name, took possession of the country, as is said, according to a prediction, or, as many assert, by the instigation of this holy father. These British bishops left no successors. We appeal to Augustin's inquiries, and Pope Gregory's answers, found in all the histories of the English Church, in proof that they had no part whatever in the ordinations in the Romish line. History abundantly testifies that this line *superseded* the British; and that the British line did not *coalesce* with, but was *annihilated* by, the Romish. How then is the present British succession derived from the ancient British bishops? What becomes of Dr. W.'s beautiful theory that "Britain, Gaul, and Rome are the mothers of the Church in England?" "The eldest is British and apostolic." The "British" mother—"the eldest and apostolic"—was murdered, and left no issue to propagate her race or to inherit her domain. The claim, then, which our churchmen make to regular descent from the ancient British bishops is totally groundless, and their catalogues mere fictions, which may impose upon the ignorant, but can deceive no one at all acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of Great Britain.

The English and Protestant Episcopal succession came through an acknowledged *usurpation*—a foreign bishop in "other men's dioceses." Now, in proof that all the ordinations in Great Britain are, upon the principles of successionists themselves, *null* and *void*, we refer the reader to the canons above quoted, and might in addition give a multitude of patristic authorities. One, however, must suffice. *St. Cyprian* says: "I may presume there is no one of our brethren who will assume to himself an episcopal authority over those of his own order; or to be a bishop of bishops; or to drive any of his brethren, by haughty manners or tyrannical compulsions, into his own persuasion; since every bishop hath equal liberty of judging and determining upon any question which comes before him, and he can no more be judged by, than he can judge, another."—On the Council of Carthage: opening of the session.

Again, this learned father, speaking of the elevation of *Cornelius* to the see of Rome, and arguing that the pretensions of *Novatianus*, his rival, were wholly vain, says: "*Cornelius* was advanced to the episcopal chair, . . . . which therefore being filled, agreeably to the will of God, . . . . whoever thenceforward would be ordained to it, must be ordained *out of the church*; nor is he capable indeed of receiving ordination *from the church* who main-

tains not the unity of the church ; be that person who he will, and let him boast, as much as he pleases, of his own merits and qualifications, I make no scruple to pronounce him a profane person, an alien, and one who hath no part nor lot in the privileges of the church. And since, when one is once regularly ordained, there can be no other after him, whoever pretends to any such ordination, after his, who alone is entitled to it, doth not only forfeit his claim to the effects of such a *second*, but indeed of *any* ordination ; and the whole action is really a perfect nullity.”—Epistle 55, sec. 5.

To the same purpose, and, if possible, still more explicit, is the following passage :—

“ As to the person of *Novatian*, dear brother, concerning whom you desire to know from me, what heresy he hath introduced into the church ; it doth not, I think, become us to be curious in our inquiries after his doctrine ; since whatever he may teach, he teaches it out of the church ; whosoever, or whatsoever else he be, he can be no Christian who is not in the church of Christ. Let him bear himself as high as he will, and boast as much and vainly as he pleases of his eloquence and philosophy, he hath lost whatever he might have otherwise pretended to, by breaking the bonds of brotherly charity and ecclesiastical unity ; unless you can think him a bishop, who, when another was ordained so by sixteen of his brethren bishops, would obtrude upon the church a spurious and foreign bishop, ordained by a parcel of renegadoes and deserters, and that by canvassing and intriguing for it. And, whereas there was one church appointed by Christ throughout the world, though divided into many members, and one episcopate, whereof divers bishops, spread over the face of the whole earth, and acting together with a harmonious concert, are severally partakers ; he, notwithstanding the tradition to this purpose derived from God, and notwithstanding the unity of the church, which is everywhere maintained so firmly, is now attempting to form a church of a mere human model ; and accordingly, he dispatches his new apostles to divers cities, in order to lay the foundations of his new-fangled economy. Whereas, moreover, in each city of every province there are bishops ordained ; venerable for their age, untainted in their principles, approved in the day of trial and adversity, and outlawed in the time of persecution ; *he* is so daring and adventurous as to constitute over their heads a set of spurious pretending bishops ; as if he were able to carry his new attempt through the whole Christian world, by obstinately persisting in it ; or could break asunder the well-compacted joints of the body of the church, by scattering his seeds of discord in it. He considers not the usual process of schismatics, who in their first attempts are always most impetuous ; but can seldom make any great increase, nor improve upon such rash beginnings ; instead of it, they usually fall away, and their rival pretensions come all to nothing.”—*Ib.*, sec. 2.

Again he says : “ There is one God, and one Christ, and one church, and but one episcopal chair, originally founded on Peter,

by our Lord's authority. There cannot, therefore, be erected another altar, or another priesthood constituted, besides this one altar, and one priesthood already constituted and created."—Epist. 43, sec. 3.

In the last quotation the father evidently means by the "one episcopal chair founded on Peter," the chair of the regular canonical bishop of the see. As his whole argument shows, he could not have referred to St. Peter's supremacy according to the Romish dogma which was subsequently erected into an article of faith.

*Novatian* was ordained bishop by three Italian bishops. He was chargeable with no heresy, only differing from *Cornelius*, who had been previously ordained bishop of Rome, in some matters of discipline. But he was ordained *bishop of Rome* when that see had been already assigned to another. It is, as we have seen, upon this ground alone that St. Cyprian denounces him. Now upon a careful inspection of the history of the Romish usurpation in England, who does not see that the Novatian bishops were by far the most regular and canonical? For *one* of the irregularities, which we have shown is most marked in the case of *Augustin*, St. Cyprian pronounces Novatian "no bishop—a profane person—an alien—not in the church of Christ—no Christian—a spurious and foreign bishop—the whole action being a perfect nullity." This is a sentence of condemnation which falls in its full force upon "the apostle of Britain." This "bishop of bishops—spurious and foreign bishop," is the father of the English ordinations, and no doubt must be entertained of his being in the regular succession, although, according to Cyprian, he is "not in the church of Christ—no Christian," and his ordinations "a perfect nullity." Is not this "the true apostolical succession" with a vengeance!

Having now disposed of the British line, let us next look after that of "Gaul." In a note (p. 92) with the letters J. M. W. at the bottom, which are Dr. Wainwright's initials, we have a list of names said to be the succession of bishops from St. John through the bishops of Lyons to *ÆTHERIUS*, who, it is presumed, assisted the archbishop of Arles in the ordination of Augustin. If all this were veritable history it would in no way affect the objection brought against the validity of the English orders on the ground of the canons, as heretofore urged. For the union of five hundred lines in one man would never authorize him, according to the patristic and high-church doctrine of the independence of bishops, to take possession of another bishop's diocese. But we will now attempt to show that this branch of the succession is entirely supposititious.



In the first place, we see no evidence that the bishop of Lyons had a hand in the ordination of Augustin. In the letter of Pope Gregory to *Eulogius*, it is said that Augustin was ordained by "the bishops of *Germany*, to whom he had given leave." "The venerable Bede" says he was ordained by the archbishop of Arles. Baronius is confounded between these two high authorities, and falls into the inconsistency of sanctioning both. And Du Pin says he "was ordained by the bishops of France." Moreover, Pope Gregory, Baronius, and Du Pin date the time of Augustin's ordination before he visited Britain, while Bede, Baronius, (for here Baronius is against Baronius,) Collier, and the whole of the English ecclesiastical historians, say he first preached in Britain, converted and baptized a multitude of heathen Saxons, and then went over to France, and was ordained by the archbishop of Arles by the pope's order. Now what is to be done? This is the state of the great authorities; and yet our high-churchmen speak with the assurance of truth and almost of inspiration. Mr. Chapman says, "Augustin was consecrated by *Virgilius*, twenty-fourth bishop of Arles, assisted by *Ætherius*, thirty-first bishop of Lyons, A. D. 596," and refers to Bede and others in proof, albeit Bede says no such thing; but, on the contrary, makes *Ætherius* archbishop of Arles. Bede's words are: "In the mean time, Augustin repaired to Arles, and, pursuant to the orders received from the holy father Gregory, was ordained archbishop of the English nation, by *Ætherius*, archbishop of that city."—*Historia Ecclesiastica*, cap. xxii.

Again, this great historian gives us a letter which he says Pope Gregory "directed to *Virgilius*, successor to *Ætherius*."—*Ibid.*, cap. xxviii.

So that this *Ætherius*, who was, according to Mr. Chapman and Dr. Wainwright, "bishop of Lyons," according to Bede, the best authority in the case, was archbishop of Arles, and predecessor of *Virgilius*.

Dr. Wainwright gives us the catena of names through the several lines of succession, "taken," as he says, "from a very excellent tract, 'A Letter to a Methodist, by a Presbyter of the Diocese of Maryland;'" and in relation to the authorities upon which the truthfulness of this catalogue depends, he says, "The genuineness and authenticity of the records are as susceptible of proof as the genuineness and authenticity of the books of the New Testament."—P. 93, note.

We are a little sorry the learned doctor has satisfied himself with quoting an *anonymous tract* in a matter of this importance.

Surely if Dr. W. knows that the "records" upon which he relies are so *genuine* and *authentic*, that they are equal in this respect to the "books of the New Testament," he must have consulted them, and we should think ought to be able to produce them, and to make out his case from these "records" themselves. Why is he so sparing of his pains? The fact is, he amuses his readers with mere fiction. We invite the doctor to quote his original authorities. We doubt as to the existence of any such "records." Let the learned gentleman produce them if he can, and not impose upon his readers by quoting the results as found in a "tract," written by nobody knows who. As to "Percival on the Apostolic Succession," to whom he makes a running reference, he touches not the point. He indeed confesses the "demonstration" of the succession impossible; and proceeds with a course of moral reasoning upon the subject, aiming at nothing higher than "probable evidence." But Dr. Wainwright, far more wise, having been enlightened into the mysteries of antiquity by a "tract—A Letter to a Methodist," where he finds a perfect "list" of bishops from "St. John" through "Lyons" to the first archbishop of Canterbury, has the "demonstration" before him, as authentic and genuine "as the books of the New Testament." If "the records" upon which rest "the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament" were found as self-contradictory and doubtful, and anywhere near as far short of having obtained "unanimous consent" as "the records" upon which depends the truth of this "list," Christianity would have been extinct long since, and Dr. W. might now have been a heathen priest instead of a presbyter of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Before we leave this part of the subject, we must notice a curious gloss in the "Appendix." In the paragraph entitled the "Fourth, or Roman Period of Usurpation," the learned writer—either Dr. Wainwright or his "friend"—remarks: "Augustin himself was not consecrated at Rome, but at Arles, the bishop of Lyons, a *Greek*, and not a Romish colony, assisting." Was "the *bishop* of Lyons a Greek and not a Romish *colony*?" or if he means that "Lyons" was "a Greek and not a Romish colony," then did this "Greek *colony*" assist in the consecration of Augustin? What profound wisdom is here! Who can fathom it? But supposing we were to succeed in spelling out the meaning of this foggy sentence, and should find it to mean that Lyons was a Greek colony, and the bishop of Lyons assisted in the ordination of Augustin—ergo what? Why, clearly and conclusively does this prove, that the ordination of Augustin comes down through the "Greek and not the Romish"

line. Admirable logic this! Now supposing it be true that Lyons or Arles was settled originally with Greeks, (into the fact we need not inquire for the present,) what then? Mr. Chapman very properly tells us, "if we wish to trace back the authority of the present bishops, we must go in the line of the *consecrators*."—*Prim. Church*, p. 268. And can Dr. W. assure us that "the consecrators" of the bishops of this "Greek colony" were none of them Romish bishops? We hope the learned doctor will resume the subject, and reperuse his anonymous tract, and see if the author has not made the matter entirely clear. According to all "the records" which we have at hand, Augustin was ordained "pursuant to St. Gregory's orders."\* So that if he were ordained by the archbishop of Arles alone, or assisted by the bishop of Lyons, or, as Gregory says, by the German bishops, the case is the same. In either case, the ordainer, or ordainers, received their authority and orders from Pope Gregory. The supposition of the independence of the bishop of Lyons—of his being a Greek, and adhering to the customs of the Greek Church, and yet being under the control of the Pope, and assisting in ordaining one of his missionaries to convert over to Romanism churches which observed the Greek method of celebrating Easter—is too absurd to be entertained for a moment.

All the bishops and archbishops of Great Britain, (with perhaps one exception,) subsequent to the days of Augustin, down to the reign of *Edward VI.*, were ordained in Rome, or somewhere upon the continent, either by the pope or his legates. After the conquest, the bishops were mostly foreigners, so that the *foreign taint* had been pouring into the English succession in an uninterrupted stream from the commencement of the seventh century until the Reformation began in England in the sixteenth. The clearest evidence of this is found in Bishop *Godwin's Lives of the English Bishops*. Those who cannot have access to this work, it being very rare, may find the results of Mr. *Powell's* examination of it in his unanswerable treatise on the Apostolical Succession, published by Lane & Tippet, 200 Mulberry street, New-York, pp. 145–147.

The English succession is wholly and entirely from Rome. *Augustin* was a servant of the pope, ordained upon the continent, and instead of thenceforward holding the exclusive right of ordination in his line, the pope continued for centuries, as we have seen, to interpose his own ordinations, in order to hold the English bishops to a strict accountability to himself, and to make them feel their absolute dependence. So that if Augustin's ordinations had

\* See Collier's *Eccl. Hist. of Great Britain*, p. 157.



been strictly canonical, his line of succession was crowded out and superseded by that of the popes. The English succession, then, is Romish, and only Romish, and will be nothing else *world without end!* and that succession, according to the canons and the holy fathers, is wholly without authority or validity in Great Britain.

The popes were a race of simonists—scarcely is there an exception for nine hundred years preceding the Reformation. And for nearly that length of time the English bishops purchased their sees with money. Godwin represents Peckham, who was created archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1278, as calling Pope Nicholas III. his “creator,” and as making to his highness the following complaint: “Truly a writ of *execution*, horrible to be seen, and terrible to be heard, has lately reached me, declaring, that except I answer to it within a month after the feast of St. Michael, by paying into the hands of the merchants of Lucca the sum of four thousand marks, according to my bargain with the court of Rome, I am then to be *excommunicated*, and am to be *cursed* in my own and other principal churches, with BELL, BOOK, and CANDLE.”—P. 245.

Again, says Mr. Powell, “The English bishops *regularly traded with Rome in simoniacal traffic*; evidence enough of this is found in Bishop Godwin’s Lives of the English Prelates. The court of Rome sold everything. ‘Sometimes,’ says Godwin, ‘those who had purchased, were, by a fraudulent clause in a subsequent bull, thrown out of their purchase.’ It was then sold to a second huckster, and the pope received double. P. 106. John of Oxford, bishop of Winchester, paid six thousand marks to the pope for his consecration, and the same sum to Jordan, the pope’s chancellor. P. 222. Greenfield, archbishop of York, was two years before he could obtain his confirmation and consecration from the pope, and then he paid nine thousand five hundred marks for the favor. P. 685. When Moreton became archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Godwin says, ‘He spunged from the bishops of the provinces a large amount of money, compelling them, by the authority of the pope, to bear the cost of his translation to that see—to the amount of fifteen thousand pounds.’ P. 131.”—*Apost. Suc.*, pp. 247, 248.

Here the *apostolical canons* again strike out a multitude of links from the English succession.

As to the canon which forbids taking possession of a diocese by the intervention of the civil power, we may say it has been, both in Rome and England, always totally disregarded. The proof we need not here adduce. And as to the one which requires a bishop “who does not undertake the ministry” to “be excommunicated,”

it has been held in equally low estimation for many centuries, both in Italy and Great Britain. If the multitudes of "unpreaching prelates" who have disgraced both the Roman and Anglican Churches could be named, they would present a fearful array. Many of the successors of *preaching* Paul and Peter *never preach at all!* And though, according to the "apostolical canons," such are to be "excommunicated," in the Churches of Rome and England these unworthy functionaries are employed almost wholly in excommunicating others—yea, all who assume to call in question their ghostly authority.

Now let it be observed, that these very *canons* constitute the strongest and best authority which high-churchmen bring from antiquity for diocesan episcopacy. And the better sort of Episcopalians, ever since the days of Cranmer, have opposed presbyterial ordination merely upon the ground of its *irregularity*. The ancient canons of the Catholic Church, they say, confine the power of conferring orders to bishops—these canons, though they are not of divine authority, show what was the *usage* of the primitive church—that usage, it is probable, was of apostolical origin—therefore it is safest and best to follow canonical order in the ordination of ministers. Episcopacy resting upon this ground is merely a *venerable* institution, and should not be lightly rejected. But what we would principally insist upon here is, that the same respect should be awarded one of these canons which is bestowed upon another. And if Protestant churches are to be cast off as "mere human societies" because they do not follow the canons in some particulars, how can the *Catholic* churches stand which discard these same canons in an equal number of particulars; and, as we must think, in particulars of still greater importance to the purity of the church? If the Roman and Anglican Catholics take the liberty to dispense with the canons of the early councils whenever it suits their convenience to do so, can they consistently adjudge us heretics for following their example in a point in which we think the councils departed from the written word? And if our Catholics are evidently *irregular*, and the evangelical churches *no more* than irregular, where is the ground of quarrel? Are they *true churches*, and we mere "societies?" If Dr. Wainwright will enter the lists with us, we pledge ourselves to prove that the *Catholic churches*, so called, have ever been more *irregular*, taking the canons in question as the standard of church order, than all the various orthodox Protestant "sects" put together; that there is a wider difference between this primitive standard and the past and present usages of the prelatical churches, than can be shown to exist be-

tween this standard and the multiform usages of the whole mass of "dissenting churches." We will meet him upon this proposition as soon as he pleases, taking the affirmative ourselves without the least difficulty as to the etiquet of the discussion.

A brief examination of the Romish line will close our notice of this subject. Though Dr. Wainwright has several expedients to get up a succession "distinct from that of the Church of Rome, extending up to the apostles," (see p. 92,) still, lest there may be some mistake about it, he must, after all, acknowledge the Romish succession "apostolical." For if the other strings to his bow should fail him, he can play the tune of apostolical succession through on this one. Well, let us see how well this will serve him.

We object to the validity of this line of succession on account of the enormous wickedness of the popes and the Romish bishops generally through the space of eight centuries preceding the days of the Reformation.

If we understand the Catholic theory—Anglican and Roman—it is this: When Christ commissioned his apostles, he gave them power to impart a saving virtue to the sacraments, and to transmit the same power to their successors, by the imposition of hands. This power consists in the actual reception of the Holy Ghost through the hands of the ordainer, when he says, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," &c. Now we hold it as absurd to suppose, that those who do not so much as know whether there be any Holy Ghost—who cannot themselves be under his influence—can authoritatively impart the Holy Ghost to others. St. Paul says, in relation to the divine commission, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels," but he does not say this treasure is deposited in *leaky* or *broken* vessels. The functions of the ministry, according to this theory, are far too high and awful. We do not believe God has committed to human hands the power to make the ordinances *saving*, or to *give the Holy Ghost* to others, by the imposition of hands. But suppose this power to be given to an *office*, and to be necessarily inherent in it, without any regard to the character of the holder, is a gross libel upon the Christian system, and an insult to its divine Author. If this dogma were anywhere written in the New Testament, we should be obliged to receive it or reject revelation. But as it is a mere theory, nowhere authorized in the word of God, we may look critically into its philosophy and practical bearings. Is there not an *a priori* objection to the idea of committing the destinies of the church and the salvation of souls to a mere *office*, which may be, and often has been, held by infidels,



and all sorts of abominable sinners? Is this the system which claims to be founded in "the wisdom of God," and commends itself to "every man's conscience in the sight of God?" This objection, in substance, being urged by Dr. Potts, is met by Dr. Wainwright's note-writer thus:—

"These instances are simply examples of bad men, who were destitute of the *inward and spiritual grace*. We can, of course, insist upon the outward sign only, because there are doubtless many hypocrites who die undetected. If it be not so, all the ministrations of hypocritical and bad ministers are invalid; and then no one knows whether he is baptized, has communed, &c., &c. So Dr. Potts is trying to prove too much."—P. 127.

This is a mere evasion. The objection does not rest upon the *hypocrisy*, the *undeveloped corruptions* of the ordainers in the Romish succession, but upon the *outward immoralities*, the *gross wickedness* of these men. Now let Dr. Wainwright and his note-writer meet the question fairly, and avow what their theory plainly implies—that a known adulterer, robber, and murderer may hold a commission from Christ to give the Holy Ghost by the imposition of hands. We acknowledge the ordinances valid, if properly received, when administered by "hypocrites who die undetected," and indeed when they are detected *before they die*, if *at the time* their wickedness had not come to light. But this is entirely a different case from the one alledged. There the gross wickedness of the administrator is known to the receiver, to the church (if a church it may be called) with whom he stands connected, and to the world. What if Christ had chosen for his apostles twelve such men as the twelve worst popes of the middle ages? Would his religion have been considered a holy religion? How long would it have survived? Well, what is the difference between his selecting such men originally, and his settling the discipline of his church upon a basis which would subject it to the same state of things? If the apostolical grace now depends not at all upon the piety or outward morality of the administrator, how came it to have been a law, everywhere recognized by Christ and his apostles, that a minister of Christ must be pure—must keep himself unspotted from the world? In the character of a bishop given by St. Paul in his epistles to Timothy and Titus, we hear nothing of the necessity of the imposition of apostolic hands, but much is said of certain great *moral* qualifications. If then we follow the Scripture rule in relation to the essential prerequisites of the apostolical commission, why dispense with the Scripture qualifications, and adopt those which all admit are not explicitly asserted in the Scriptures? Is not this

elevating a mere outward circumstance above the great moral qualifications of the Bible? Is it not preferring the traditions of men to the unerring voice of inspiration? Paul says, "A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behavior, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous—not a novice. Moreover he must have a good report of them which are without, lest he fall into reproach, and the snare of the devil." 1 Tim. iii, 2-7. But Dr. W. acknowledges those to be true bishops of the apostolical succession who were *not* "blameless"—who had *no* "wife," but *many concubines*—were *not* "vigilant," but "dumb dogs, lying down, loving to slumber"—*not* "sober," but abominable, filthy drunkards—*not* "of good behavior," but every way irregular and disorderly—*not* "given to hospitality," but notoriously selfish and inhuman—*not* "apt to teach," but not able to teach at all, because they were uninstructed themselves—"given to wine, strikers, greedy of filthy lucre"—*not* "patient," but most resentful and angry—"brawlers," "covetous," "novices"—having a most *evil* "report of them which are without." Now we pledge ourselves to prove that each and all of these characteristics were found in the life and manners of the great mass of the Romish clergy, and eminently so in those of bishops and popes of the Romish Church for several centuries prior to the Reformation. And these are the bishops—apostles—of the church of Christ, who have the fearful power of "binding and loosing—of forgiving and retaining sins!" These are the legitimate successors of the apostles! "Episcopal grace" comes through these hands!—through their *hands*, to be sure, never touching the moral man, for it would be an insult to Christianity to say that *grace* of any kind ever reached their *hearts*. In the theory here opposed, then, we recognize a principle at war with Scripture, reason, and common sense; and we shall now prove that the church authorities regard it in the same light. The following is taken from the Homily "Concerning the Holy Ghost."

"Now to leave their doctrine, and to come to other points. What shall we think or judge of the pope's intolerable pride? The Scripture saith, that *God resisteth the proud, and showeth grace to the humble*. Also pronounceth them blessed *which are poor in spirit*, promising that they which humble themselves shall be exalted. And Christ our Saviour willeth all his to learn of him, *because he is humble and meek*. As for pride St. Gregory saith, it is the root of all mischief. And St. Augustine's judgment is this, that it maketh men devils. Can any man then, which either hath or shall read the popes' lives, justly say that they had the Holy Ghost within them? First, as touching that they will be

termed universal bishops and heads of all Christian churches through the world; we have the judgment of Gregory expressly against them; who, writing to Mauritius the emperor, condemneth John, bishop of Constantinople, in that behalf, calling him the prince of pride, Lucifer's successor, and the forerunner of antichrist. St. Bernard also agreeing thereunto, saith, What greater pride can there be, than that one man should prefer his own judgment before the whole congregation, as though he only had the Spirit of God? And Chrysostom pronounceth a terrible sentence against them, affirming plainly, that whosoever seeketh to be chief in earth shall find confusion in heaven; and that he which striveth for the supremacy shall not be reputed among the servants of Christ. Again he saith, to desire a good work, it is good; but to covet the chief degree of honor, it is mere vanity. Do not these places sufficiently convince their outrageous pride, in usurping to themselves a superiority above all other, as well ministers and bishops, as kings also and emperors? But as the lion is known by his claws, so let us learn to know these men by their deeds. What shall we say of him that made the noble king Dandalus to be tied by the neck with a chain, and to lie flat down before his table, there to gnaw bones like a dog? Shall we think that he had God's Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Clement the Sixth. What shall we say of him that proudly and contemptuously trod Frederic the emperor under his feet, applying that verse of the Psalm unto himself, *Thou shalt go upon the lion and the adder, the young lion and the dragon thou shalt tread under thy foot*? Shall we say that he had God's Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Alexander the Third. What shall we say of him that armed and animated the son against the father, causing him to be taken, and to be cruelly famished to death, contrary to the law both of God, and also of nature? Shall we say that he had God's Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Pascal the Second. What shall we say of him that came into his popedom like a fox, that reigned like a lion, and died like a dog? Shall we say that he had God's Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Boniface the Eighth. What shall we say of him that made Henry the emperor, with his wife and his young child, to stand at the gates of the city in the rough winter, bare footed and bare legged, only clothed in linsey woolsey, eating nothing from morning to night, and that for the space of three days? Shall we say that he had God's Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Hildebrand, most worthy to be called a firebrand, if we shall term him as he hath best deserved. Many other examples might here be alledged: as of Pope Joan the harlot, that was delivered of a child in the high street, going solemnly in procession; of Pope Julius the Second, that wilfully cast St. Peter's keys into the river Tiberis; of Pope Urban the Sixth, that caused five cardinals to be put in sacks, and cruelly drowned; of Pope Sergius the Third, that persecuted the dead body of Formosus his predecessor, when it had been buried eight years; of Pope John, the Fourteenth of that name, who having his enemy delivered into his hands,



caused him first to be stripped stark naked, his beard to be shaven, and to be hung up a whole day by the hair, then to be set upon an ass with his face backward toward the tail, to be carried round about the city in despite, to be miserably beaten with rods; last of all, to be thrust out of his country, and to be banished for ever. But to conclude, and make an end, ye shall briefly take this short lesson: wheresoever ye find the spirit of arrogance and pride, the spirit of envy, hatred, contention, cruelty, murder, extortion, witchcraft, necromancy, &c., assure yourselves that there is the spirit of the devil, and not of God, albeit they pretend outwardly to the world never so much holiness. For as the gospel teacheth us, the Spirit of Jesus is a good Spirit, a Holy Spirit, a sweet Spirit, a lowly Spirit, a merciful Spirit, full of charity and love, full of forgiveness and pity, not rendering evil for evil, extremity for extremity, but overcoming evil with good, and remitting all offense even from the heart. According to which rule, if any man live uprightly, of him it may be safely pronounced, that he hath the Holy Ghost within him: if not, then it is a plain token that he doth usurp the name of the Holy Ghost in vain. Therefore, dearly beloved, according to the good counsel of St. John, *Believe not every spirit, but first try them whether they be of God or no. Many shall come in my name, saith Christ, and shall transform themselves into angels of light, deceiving (if it be possible) the very elect.* They shall come unto you in sheep's clothing, being inwardly cruel and ravening wolves. They shall have an outward show of great holiness and innocency of life, so that ye shall hardly or not at all discern them. But the rule that ye must follow is this, *To judge them by their fruits*; which if they be wicked and naught, then it is impossible that the tree of whom they proceed should be good. Such were all the popes and prelates of Rome for the most part, as doth well appear in the story of their lives, and therefore they are worthily accounted among the number of false prophets, and false Christs, which deceived the world a long while. The Lord of heaven and earth defend us from their tyranny and pride, that they never enter into his vineyard again, to the disturbance of his silly poor flock; but that they may be utterly confounded and put to flight in all parts of the world: and he of his great mercy so work in all men's hearts, by the mighty power of the Holy Ghost, that the comfortable gospel of his Son Christ may be truly preached, truly received, and truly followed in all places, to the beating down of sin, death, the pope, the devil, and all the kingdom of antichrist, that like scattered and dispersed sheep, being at length gathered into one fold, we may in the end rest all together in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, there to be partakers of eternal and everlasting life, through the merits and death of Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*"

Now could these monsters in wickedness, who, as the homily truly urges, "had not God's Spirit within them, but rather the spirit of the devil," could they give the Holy Ghost to others? could they give what they had not? Are these men—with "Pope Joan the harlot"—*the apostles of the Catholic Church*? Alas! alas! if this be so.—We might show up this matter of the corruptions of the

Romish succession, from the best authorities, to any extent. But we must leave the subject here. He who wishes more full proof upon this subject may consult *Platina's*, *Welch's*, *Bower's*, and *Ranke's* Lives of the Popes, or the works of Bishops *Jewel* and *Taylor*, where he will be amply satisfied.

In the next place we urge, that the Romish catalogues are not at all reliable,—they are often evidently fictitious, absurd, and self-contradictory.

We may prove this position from what we find in Romish writers in relation to the famous Joan, the female pope. As to name and date, there is no pope for several centuries more clearly identified by Romish writers. In an old Latin copy of the Lives of the Popes, by *Platina*—himself a faithful servant of the pope—and dedicating his work to Sixtus IV., “A. D. 1681,” we have the Life of Pope “*Ioannes VIII.*” (A. D. 854) between *Leo IV.* and *Benedict III.* “This story,” he says, “I have related barely and in short, lest I should seem obstinate and pertinacious if I had omitted what is so generally talked; I had better mistake with the rest of the world; though it be certain, that what I have related may be thought not altogether incredible.”\*

\* We here give, for the benefit of the scholar, the whole story, which he will agree with us would scarcely be suitable for the public eye in a literal translation.

#### “IOANNES VIII.

“*Ioannes Anglicus, ex Maguntiaci oriundus, malis artibus (ut aiunt) pontificatum adeptus est. Mentitus enim sexum, cum fœmina esset, adolescens admodum Athenas cum amatore viro docto proficiscitur: ibique præceptores bonarum artium audiendo tatum profecit, ut Romam veniens, paucos admodum etiam in sacris litteris pares haberet, ne dum superiores. Legendo autem et disputando docte et acute, tantum benevolentiae et auctoritatis sibi comparavit, ut mortuo Leone in ejus locum (ut Martinus ait) omnium consensu pontifex crearetur. Verum postea a servo compressa, cum aliquamdiu occulte ventrem tulisset, tandem, dum ad Lateranensem basilicam proficisceretur, inter theatrum (quod Colossenum vocant a Neronis colosso) et sanctum Clementem, doloribus circumnenta peperit: eoque loci mortua, pontificatus sui anno secundo, mense uno, diebusquattuor, sine ullo honore sepelitur. Sunt qui ob hæc scribant, pontificem ipsum, quando ad Lateranensem basilicam proficiscitur, detestandi facinoris causa, et viam illam consulto declinare, et ejusdem vitandi erroris causa, dum primo in sede Petri collocatur, ad eam rem perforata, genitalia ab ultimo diacono attrahere. De primo non abnuerim, de secundo ita sentio, sedem illam ob id paratam esse, ut qui in tanto magistatu constituitur, sciat se non Deum, sed hominem esse; et necessitatibus naturæ, ut pote egerandi subjectum esse, unde merito stercoraria sedes vocatur. Hæc, quæ dixi, vulgo feruntur, incertistamen et obscuris auctoribus: quæ ideo ponere breviter et nude institui, ne obstinate nimium et pertinaciter omisisse videar, quod fere omnes affirmant: erremus etiam nos hac in re cum vulgo, quaquam appareat, ea quæ dixi, ex his esse, quæ fieri posse creduntur. Sunt qui dicant, hujus temporibus beati Vincentii corpus e Valentia citerioris Hispaniæ civitate, a quodam monacho in pagum Albiensem ulterioris Galliæ deportatum. Dicunt præterea, Lotharium jam*

*Onuphrius*, the commentator and continuator of *Platina*, tries various expedients to get rid of this story. His first objection is substantially repeated by Harding in opposition to Bishop Jewel, thus: "Though men had at that time been so far bewitched and distracted of their wits as they could not have known a woman from a man, (which no wise man, I mean, believeth,) yet it is not to be thought that God himself, who appointed and ordained the see of Peter, whereof he would the whole church to be directed, would depart so far from his merciful providence toward the church, as to suffer the same to be polluted by a woman, which is not of capacity for holy orders."

To this Bishop Jewel replies in this straight-forward old-fashioned style: "This guess, M. Harding, presumeth over far of God's providence. And therefore Antoninus the archbishop of Florence, when he had opened this whole story of *Pope Joan*, being offended with the strangeness and admiration of the matter, could not refrain himself from crying out, 'O the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how inscrutable are his judgments.' And why might not *Pope Joan* have as good right and interest unto the see of Rome as afterward had *Pope John XIII.*, who, being pope, had wicked company with two of his own sisters; or others, whom for their horrible vices and wickedness *Platina* calls *monsters against kind, and ill-shapen creatures?* *Luitprandus* saith, as it is before reported, 'The Pope's palace of Lateran in Rome is now become a stew of harlots.'" Now how much more injury could be inflicted upon 'the seat of Peter' by *Pope Joan* than by many male popes who have occupied it is certainly worthy of inquiry, before we yield to the objection.

*Onuphrius* also objects that *Anastasius*, who lived at this time, and gives an account of the death of *Leo*, and the elevation of *Benedict*, is silent about *Pope Joan*.

*Rainulphus*, in his *Polychronicon*, gives us the reason why the historians of the time omitted it: "*propter turpitudinem rei*—the vileness of the thing" Be this as it may, we have strong Roman Catholic authority for this piece of history. *Martinus Palonus*, who was penitentiary to *Nicholas* the Third, and afterward archbishop of Casenza—*Marianus Scotus*, A. D. 1080, a monk and a chronicler upon whom the Romanists have placed much dependence in dating their councils—*Sigbert*, abbot of Gemblaus, who

grandem natu, sumpto monachorum habitu, filium Ludovicum imperatorem reliquisse, qui statim in Germaniam prouinciam rediens, omnes ad arma spectantes sua præsentia in officio continuit."—*Historia B. Platina de vitis pontificum Romanorum*, pp. 133, 134.



lived A. D. 1100—*Petrarch*, who lived in the fourteenth century, and many others, give the account as veritable history. After an examination of the whole matter, Bishop Jewel makes up the account thus:—

“But let truth be falsehood, and let stories be fable. Yet M. Harding, it may please you to remember, that the same *fable* was raised in *Rome*, and from thence only, and from no place else, was published abroad into the world. But let the pope’s own *secretaries* and all the people there be deceived; and, to shadow the shame of that see, let *Rome* itself be the *mother of lies*. Let no man know the certain truth of matters, but only *Onuphrius*, the pope’s parasite, and M. Harding. Yet neither would so many chronicles have recorded, nor would the whole world so universally have believed these things of the popes, more than of any other bishops, had there not been wonderful corruption of manners, and dissolution of life, and open horror, and filthiness in that *only see*, above all others.

“Howbeit, good Christian reader, that thou mayst well and clearly understand that our dealing herein is plain and simple, and that we have not imagined these matters, or any parcel thereof ourselves, may it please thee to read *Platina in Iohanne VIII.*; *Sabellicus, Enneadis* 9, lib. 1; *Leonicus Chalcocondyla*, a Greek writer, lib. 6; *Marianus Scotus*, that lived about the year of our Lord 1028; *Sigibertus Gemblacensis*, that lived about the year of our Lord 1100; *Martinus Polonus*, the pope’s penitentiary, whom M. Harding so much defaceth, that lived about the year of our Lord 1320; *Ravisius Texton in Officina, Ca. Fæminæ habitum verilem mentilæ*; *Antoninus*, the archbishop of Florence, part 2, tit. 16; *Volaterranus*; *Nauclerus*; *Carion*; *Constantius Phrygio*; *Christianus Massæus*; *Matthæus Palmerius Florentinus*; *Anselmus Rid*; *Johannes Parisiensis*, cap. 20; *Supplementa Chronicarum*; *Chronica Chronicarum*; *Fasciculus temporum*, and others more. Of these some lived four hundred, some five hundred years ago; and have ever been counted worthy of some authority. Notwithstanding, for your *dame Joan’s* sake, you, M. Harding, begin now to clip their credit. Howbeit, whatsoever they were, certain it is they were no *Lutherans*. All these with one consent agree together, that *dame Joan was pope of Rome*.”—*Defense*, p. 352.

Here is a strong array of *Roman Catholic* authorities in favor of the fact of a *female pope*. We do not pretend to say that the evidence is conclusive, indeed we doubt whether it is sufficiently sustained. *Blondel* and *Bower*, two great Protestant writers, have investigated the matter more fully than any others, and come to the

conclusion that the story is fabulous. Their conclusions are based upon the want of contemporaneous history, the first notice taken of it being by an author who lived some two hundred years after the event is said to have transpired. *Bower*, however, says, what no one denies, that "the female pope owes her existence and her promotion to the *Roman* Catholics themselves; for by them the fable was invented, was published to the world by their priests and monks before the Reformation, and was credited, upon their authority, even by those who were most zealously attached to the holy see, and among the rest by *St. Antoninus*, archbishop of *Florence*, nor did they begin to confute it till Protestants reproached them with it, as reflecting great dishonor upon the see of *St. Peter*."—*History of the Popes*.

The case then is this. There is given in the chronicles to which recourse is had for the Romish succession, written by the "priests and monks" of the Church of Rome—credited and related by the high functionaries of that church, *archbishops* and *penitentiaries*, and *universally* believed for the space of *five hundred years*—the name of a female pope—fictitious, if you please—who is said to have reigned about *two years and a half* and *ordained bishops*! Thus we have the "quod ab omnibus" evidence for five centuries to a female link in the succession which Catholics—*Roman* and *Anglican*—now laugh at as a fable of the monks. Now let the reader not forget that it is to these very chroniclers that our successionists go to identify each link of the Romish succession for at least the space of eight centuries! Doubtless all their "records"—excepting that of "*dame Joan*"—"are as susceptible of proof as the genuineness and authenticity of the books of the New Testament!" Dr. Wainwright being the judge.

We will close what we have to say upon this matter with a brief notice of the explanation of the origin of the story given by *Onuphrius*. He thinks the tale arose from the fact that Pope John the Twelfth had many concubines, and among them *Joan*. He was made pope at the age of *twelve years*, and was so governed in all he did by "*dame Joan*," that perhaps in derision the name of this woman was given to her obsequious paramour. And hence, says the learned apologist for the pope, "some idle head or other invented this tale of her." This then is the version of a learned Romish historian. A licentious boy of twelve years old, who has "many concubines," is so entirely under the dictation of one of them in particular, as that he is called by her name! All that he did being known to be done by the dictation of a "concubine" named "*Joan*," he is called "*Pope Joan*!" A vast improvement this! No doubt

Dr. Wainwright and his note-writer will think that the succession is quite safe coming through "John the Twelfth," though it would be somewhat doubtful had it really come through "Joan," though, for our part, if the history of Joan were well authenticated, we should think her far the more competent of the two.

We have had two objects in view in this discussion. The first is that we may show how little authority is due to the Romish chronicles for several centuries; and the second, to put the case of the "female pope" upon its true basis before our readers. Having said all that is necessary for the accomplishment of these purposes, we now leave the subject.

We shall now pass to a few miscellaneous matters, and shall then dismiss this pamphlet, without pretending to notice a tithe of its objectionable features.

It is remarkable that the note-writer, who takes frequent notice of the Methodists, though he sometimes classes them with "Mormons," and all sorts of fanatics, still arrays them against the Presbyterians, on the side of *Episcopalians*. Now we protest against this classification. The Methodists, in this country, have adopted an episcopal form of government, as, according to Archbishop Whately, they had a perfect right to do. But Methodist episcopacy is based upon, and grows out of, the *presbytery*. It is an *official* relation concerted for the harmonious action of the great itinerant scheme, and the better government of the church. But it claims no *divine right* or *apostolical succession*, as these things are understood by high-churchmen, for its basis. In the great controversy between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, upon apostolical succession, we symbolize with the former and not with the latter. Our episcopacy is not antagonistic to presbyterianism as we understand it, but is the very modification of it which *Baxter*, *Gillespie*, and many of the reformers, seemed to have in their conceptions, but did not realize in history. An exception to this remark, perhaps, should be made of the German Lutherans, who have a *superintendency*, or an *episcopacy*, somewhat similar to ours. We are not, then, to be ranked among *Episcopalians*, when the great essential elements of their creed, episcopacy *jure divino*, and a *personal succession of bishops from the apostles only having the right of ordination*, are taken into account. We are at war with these principles, not because we *would* have, but *cannot* obtain, what our successionists call "a legitimate episcopacy;" but because we believe this episcopacy to be contrary to Scripture, and destructive of true Christian unity. No, gentlemen; we do not want your "succession." We would not thank you for it. We



reject it as a usurpation, and would in no case *descend* to accept it at your hands. We understand what our note-writer means by "the wishes of the Methodists, who would have it if they could, and might if they would."—P. 12. Now, dear Mr. "Antisectarian," we wish you to understand, if indeed you are capable of learning anything, that "the Methodists" have no "wishes" for *your* "episcopacy," even "if they could" have it without price; and though they knew very well, before they were told by you, that they "might if they would" *join your church*, and come under the jurisdiction of your episcopacy, they will not be very likely to avail themselves of that *gracious* proffer. They have a *legitimate, Scriptural, primitive* episcopacy, and they have no itching to exchange it for one whose highest boast is that it is in the line of *Roman popes*.

The oft-repeated proposition that the "dogma," that "there can be no church without a bishop," was universally received in the church for fifteen hundred years, we meet with a flat contradiction. What can our high-churchmen do with this plain declaration of *Tertullian*? "*Sed ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici—Moreover, where there are three, there is a church, although they be laymen.*"\* We have not space for the authorities which might be added to this very decisive one. We hope Dr. Wainwright and his "friend" will answer those which are adduced by Bishop *Jewel*, in his *Defense of the Apology*, and Mr. *Goode*, in his *Divine Rule of Faith and Practice*, when they again come before the public; until they do which, their positive assertions will be entitled to very little respect or attention.

The note-writer generally goes the whole figure upon the episcopal assumption, but we find one small exception. He says: "It is a simple fact in history, that it [the dogma in question] never was disputed, and hardly doubted, *except by some Papists.*"—P. 45. The italicising is ours. The italics mark an exception which Dr. Wainwright does not make. He says: "The Church of Rome, in common with the great body of the church catholic, at all times and in all places," held this "dogma;" and that "its truth was never disputed, and conformity with its distinctive provisions never departed from, until the days of the Reformation."—P. 43. It might have been a little more consistent for the learned doctor not to suffer his note-writer, on the very next page, to contradict what he here so explicitly lays down. But *consistency* is a jewel rarely found in these days. If we were to compel our high-church friends to conform to its rules, we should stretch them out of joint. As this would be cruel, we must leave them as they are.

\* De Exhort. Castil, c. 7; also, De Pudicit, c. 27.

The fact is, the first and purest ages of Christianity knew nothing of *prelacy*. The institution as it now exists in the Church of Rome, the churches of the east, and the Church of England, is the offspring of subsequent ages, and its history is traceable ; though it cannot be expected, at this distance of time, when ancient records are few and doubtful, that the historical evidence should be perfectly clear and unembarrassed. This want of clear historical evidence, our high-church exclusionists sometimes deny, and at other times plead, just according to circumstances. We can scarcely expect to convert them, but must leave them in the shades of antiquity, where they love to hide themselves, like Adam "among the trees of the garden," and where they will probably continue to roam at large until "the voice of God" shall call them out into the light of revealed truth. Let the patient reader just for a moment glance at the state of this notable controversy.

When we bring "the exclusive dogma" to the test of Scripture, our high-churchmen exclaim, "When will Christians learn that the books of the New Testament were written on special occasions, or to meet certain errors ? and therefore things may be true which are not recorded at large in so brief a compend as the New Testament."—P. 41, note. "Things *may be true* which are not recorded ;"—well, what then ? Why we must go to "the traditions of the church," and learn what "the oral preachings of the apostles" say upon these "things" which "may be true." We go then to tradition, and taking with us the catholic rule of Vincent—that "what is believed everywhere, at all times, and by all," is catholic truth—we apply this rule to the episcopal regimen ; and it might indeed stand some sort of test, if we were to pass upon the mere name without defining the thing. But only analyze your subject, and then apply your catholic rule to its various parts, and after rejecting every attribute which does not stand the test, what will you have left ? Inquire what is a bishop ? Is he of an order superior to presbyters by divine right ? What is essential to episcopal ordination ? What jurisdiction has a bishop in the church ? What power has one bishop over another ? What vitiates the ordinations of a bishop ? What is the church ? Upon these questions he will find no "consent of doctors." During the fourth and fifth centuries, adhesion to the canons of the general councils was generally deemed essential to the legitimacy of any branch of the Catholic Church, and to the validity of ordinations and the sacraments. But after the elevation of the Roman see, these canons were set aside as often as convenience required. There were such conflicts of opinions, and such gross irregularities prevalent, for

centuries, that conformity to the canons of the church of the Nicene age is not to be supposed a matter of course. When all these things are presented to our opponents, they then bid their old friend *Vincent* farewell—throw away the canons of discipline of the Catholic Church—and, generalizing upon the largest possible scale, they make mere ordination by the imposition of the hands of one bishop all that is strictly necessary to the validity of orders. That bishop may be out of his own diocese—may be induced to ordain by money—may be forced upon the people by the interposition of wicked rulers—may be a mere *boy*—a heretic—an infidel—a heathen—as wicked as Satan—and yet his ordinations, though they might be “irregular,” would still be perfectly “valid!” Two bishops may mutually expel each other, and yet the ordinations of each are perfectly “valid!” There may be popes and antipopes through whole centuries, who put each other under the ban, and yet the ordinations of both are “valid!” All these positions are gulped down by Dr. Wainwright’s note-writer without the least sign of nausea. And indeed the successionists must adopt this whole system of absurdities and blasphemies, or give up their doctrine of apostolical succession. Here, then, is the point where we come out. It cannot be that the succession has failed: therefore all these difficulties must either never have existed in fact, or, having existed, they could not have vitiated the true apostolical succession! Now who will say but we are fairly vanquished?

There is a gross absurdity in the relations which our high-churchmen affect to hold with the Roman Catholics. They acknowledge the Romish Church to be a branch of the Catholic Church, and receive their clergy without the reimposition of hands, on the ground that they have “the apostolical succession,” and receive all the articles of the faith. But the evangelical churches, though they have kept “the faith,” not having the apostolical succession of bishops, are not to be recognized as branches of the Catholic Church. The government of the Romish Church is a *monarchy*, and does not rest upon the *divine right* of *bishops*, or “apostolical succession,” but upon the supremacy of St. Peter, and the power of the keys lodged in his seat. But all the radical differences which are found between Roman and Anglican Catholics, as to the nature of the episcopal office, or the line of apostolical succession, it would seem, are mere trifles in comparison with those which separate prelatists from Presbyterians. A difference in matters of *order* with Roman Catholics can easily be overlooked, but a difference in matters of *order* with “the non-prelatical denominations” is *fundamental*, and cannot be overcome.



As to *faith*, the evangelical churches are, we believe, not accused of departing from the primitive standards—they are not necessarily *heretics*, but are merely *out of the church*, because, as our opponents assume, “there can be no church without a bishop.” But how do they get over the acknowledged *heresies* of Rome? Why, this is a small matter enough! The wise note-writer eases it off almost without an effort. He tells us that Rome has merely *added* to the faith. She receives all the doctrines of the Catholic Church, *and a little more*, that’s all. And Mr. Carey held that the matters of difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome *were not matters of faith*. This would do if the matter added were consistent with the original creed. The canons of the Council of Trent and the creed and articles of the Church of England, are in many essential points perfectly antagonistic. For instance, how does the worship of the Virgin Mary, and of relics, agree with the doctrine of the one living and true God? How does the mediation of saints and angels agree with the doctrine of the “one Mediator, Jesus Christ?” And how does the doctrine of justification by the merit of works agree with that of “justification by faith alone?”

The old English divines saw all these contrarieties, and many more which we might notice, in a strong light, and steadily maintained that Rome had corrupted the very substance of religion. We need go no further than the *Homilies* to prove this. There Rome is charged with such radical errors as vitiate her claim to the character of a church. Witness the following language: “Now if you will compare this with the Church of Rome, not as it was in the beginning, but as it is at present, and hath been for the space of nine hundred years and odd; you shall well perceive the state thereof to be so far wide from the nature of the true church, that nothing can be more. For neither are they built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, retaining the sound and pure doctrine of Christ Jesus; neither yet do they order either the sacraments, or else the ecclesiastical keys, in such sort as he did first institute and ordain them; but have so intermingled their own traditions and inventions, by chopping and changing, by adding and plucking away, that now they may seem to be converted into a new guise.”—*Homily on Whitsunday*.

We would recommend to our *Puseyites* to discard these *uncatholic* notions, and wholly to repudiate all there is in the *Homilies* and *Thirty-nine Articles* against Romanism, if they do not even dig up the bones of the old English reformers, if they can be found, and burn them over again. For really if our modern high-church-

men are right, the old reformers were the worst of heretics. With them Rome was *antichrist*—her doctrine and government—her “whole estate”—essentially variant from the gospel. But with our modern high-churchmen *Rome is right in essentials*. We, however, rather agree with the English fathers, and are consequently forced to the conclusion that their unworthy sons are *essentially* wrong. That they have left *the old paths*, any one with half an eye can see.

Among the small matters which a critic might incidentally notice in this pamphlet are a few specimens of orthography. One of these is the obsolete word *sectarism*. *Webster* inserts this word with the parenthesis, “*little used*.” *Johnson* retains it upon the authority of “King Charles”—probably “the martyr”—and cites the following example from the royal author: “Nothing hath more marks of schism and *sectarism* than this presbyterian way.” Now we cannot quarrel with Dr. Wainwright and his learned “friend” for an affectation of high antiquity, and a truly ancient and catholic mode of expression. Certainly they have as good a right to copy the style and own the orthography of “*King Charles*, the blessed martyr,” as they have to consider him an example of catholic orthodoxy and correct Christian morals, albeit their *church* “way” “hath” as many “marks of *schism* and *sectarism*” as the “presbyterian way” of the sainted king Charles. But we hope these gentlemen will not soon be so completely imbued with the spirit and policy of the Stuarts, as well as with their chaste orthography, as to threaten to “*harry* out of the land” all those who are of “this presbyterian way.”

Another instance, as it occurs but once, may possibly be an error of the printer. We are told of the “*liquidation* of the blood of St. Januarius.”—P. 29. Now if this be a mere typographical error we would suggest that it is a pity so splendid a book should be thus marred, and we ought slightly to take Dr. Wainwright and his “friend” to task for the carelessness with which they passed the proof sheets. But if it be an instance of a new and strange sense given to an old word, all we have to say is, that the *authority* of Dr. Wainwright and his friend is not quite sufficient. We shall wait at least for the *liquefaction* of the icebergs of exclusiveness, among which they have entrenched themselves, before we shall feel called to the “liquidation” of the debt of gratitude which they may think they have brought the world under by their discovery.

Heartily sick and tired of this miserable specimen of high-church logic, we now bid it a final adieu.

## ART. VIII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Miscellanies: consisting principally of Sermons and Essays.* By JOHN HARRIS, D. D., author of "Mammon," "The Great Teacher," "The Great Commission," &c., &c. With Introduction and Notes, by JOSEPH BELCHER, D. D. Post 8vo., pp. 287. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1844.

DR. HARRIS is extensively and advantageously known in these United States, and this interesting volume will by no means detract from his well-merited fame. It consists of eight sermons, eleven essays, and a short but affecting memoir of his deceased wife. The sermons were all preached on public occasions, such as the anniversaries of the London Christian Instruction Society, the Home Missionary Society, the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the opening of the Lancashire College, and at the dedication or anniversaries of three churches; the essays were mostly written for a periodical conducted by the editor of the present volume. The same correct sentiments, enlightened piety, and catholic spirit which distinguished Dr. Harris's former works, will be found in this. The Introduction and Notes furnish us with much interesting information relative to the author, and the institutions for which he so ably pleads.

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2. *A Treatise on the Forces which produce the Organization of Plants. With an Appendix, containing several Memoirs on Capillary Attraction, Electricity, and the Chemical Action of Light.* By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in the University of New-York. Harper & Brothers.

WHATEVER may be thought of the doctrines maintained in this elaborate treatise, the author is certainly entitled to the credit of having brought to the discussion of the subject an inquiring disposition, a discriminating judgment, and an industry in making experiments and observations seldom surpassed. He announces, in the Introduction, the great idea which his work is intended to illustrate as that which connects the production and phenomena of organized beings with the imponderable principles, denying the existence of what is known to physiologists as the vital force, and contending that all physical structures are the results of the mechanical action of a variety of natural causes. This is not the place to controvert his opinions, though we presume that he himself scarcely expects that they will pass unchallenged. We cordially pay the work the tribute which it certainly merits, of being a rare and most creditable one, an honor not only to the author, but to the country.



The papers collected in the Appendix have been published in some of the most celebrated scientific journals in this country and in Europe, and are in the highest degree valuable and interesting. The work is issued in a very elegant quarto volume, printed in the very best style of the art. It is scarcely too much to say that it will elevate the character of American science throughout the world.

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3. *The Anatomy of the Human Body.* By J. CRUVEILHIER, Professor of Anatomy to the Faculty of Medicine of Paris, Physician to the Hospital of Salpetriere, and President of the Anatomical Society of Paris. The first American, from the last Paris edition. Edited by GRANVILLE SHARP PATTISON, M. D. Harper & Brothers.

THIS work of Cruveilhier is recommended by the American editor, who is one of the most celebrated anatomists in this country, as by far the best treatise on the subject ever published. It has been republished and adopted as a text-book in England, and enjoys a very high reputation among medical men throughout Europe. Coming before the American people under such auspices, it cannot fail to prove a welcome accession to our medical literature. It is published in a thick octavo of nearly a thousand very closely-printed pages, and contains an immense amount of matter. The engravings which were added in the London edition have been retained in this, and the latest corrections and additions of the author have also been adopted. The editor, in his Preface, speaks in high and just terms of commendation of the cheap and most excellent series of scientific medical productions which the Harpers have recently issued.

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4. *The Autobiography of Heinrich Stilling, late Autic Counselor to the Grand Duke of Baden.* Translated from the German, by S. JACKSON. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1844.

IN an age of extraordinary books, this is one of the most remarkable. It is veritable biography, with more interest than romance ever excited. Such a combination of simplicity, fascination, and religion is scarcely to be met with in our own or any other language. Talent of the highest order is shown, by leading us almost to forget its existence; while the simple-hearted piety of this illustrious scholar makes its way to the heart of every reader. We are not surprised that in Germany this book is received by all classes as the Pilgrim's Progress is with us, nor that our contemporaries are placing it in the list with Robinson Crusoe. The translator has performed his work admirably, and we hope his labors will be appreciated in the United States as they have been in England.

5. *A History of Greece.* By the Right Rev. CONNOP THIRLWALL. Harper & Brothers.

THIS work has recently been completed in England, where its appearance has been very cordially welcomed by the best critics and most judicious scholars. It is written in a style of great elegance, and aims at a more philosophical analysis of the character of the people and institutions of Greece, than has yet been given. It has been commended in very decided terms by some of our most eminent scholars, and will doubtless take its place among the standard histories of the ancient world. The Harpers propose to complete it in eight numbers, of which the first only has as yet been issued.

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6. *A Grammar of the Greek Language, principally from the German of Kühner.* By CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1844.

To many it may seem useless to go on multiplying grammars of a language that, like the Greek, can never change; but although the language is invariable, constant progress is made in the knowledge of it, and it is this progress which renders new grammars necessary. In this department of learning, the scholars of Germany have uniformly taken the lead, and philology is mainly indebted to them for the great advances it has made in the present century; but it is commonly found that their books, however well they may suit their own methods of instruction, need revision by our own teachers before they can be used to advantage in our schools. In such revisions Dr. Anthon has done good service, as is shown by the extensive adoption of his whole series of school classics. Combining the experience of a practical teacher with the learning of an indefatigable student and a philosophic critic, his books are well adapted to the minds for which they are intended. The grammar before us contains all the important improvements to be found in Kühner's recent grammar, which are held in the highest estimation both in England and in our own country. In the inflexions, particularly in the paradigm of the verbs, Dr. Anthon has closely followed Kühner's admirable arrangement; but in the syntax he has followed his own judgment in adapting it to our own forms of expression and modes of thought. The German is the more purely philosophical—Dr. Anthon's the more intelligible and the better suited to the comprehension of young minds; and one has only to compare it with any other Greek syntax existing in our language to be satisfied of its superiority for every purpose of instruction. These are the two points which constitute the peculiar excellence of the "New Greek

Grammar," and they are sufficient, we think, to give it the preference over all others for schools and colleges. A boy who has made himself master of it will find few difficulties in studying the language which will require the aid of a living teacher, for such in fact is the grammar itself.

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7. *Elements of Rhetoric and Literary Criticism, &c. For the Use of Schools and Academies.* By J. R. BOYD, A. M. Harper & Brothers.

THE author of this work is a practical teacher, and his object in preparing it has been to present such rules and examples as would most effectually teach to children the art of expressing their thoughts in language. He has executed the task with a good degree of skill and judgment. The rules are simple and easily understood, and the examples are judiciously selected from the best authors. His work is highly commended by the State Superintendent of Common Schools, and by a large number of teachers, by whom it has been examined.

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8. *The Reformers before the Reformation.* By EMILE DE BONNECHOSE. Translated from the French by CAMPBELL MACKENZIE. Harper & Brothers.

THIS volume gives a most animated and interesting account of the life and labors of JOHN HUSS, who doubtless did more than any other man in the fifteenth century to prepare the way for the glorious Reformation achieved by Luther in that which succeeded. The author is librarian to the king of France, and has thus had access to manuscripts and other authorities which do much to illustrate the great events with which his history is concerned, and which have never before been consulted. The work furnishes a very useful introduction to the history of the Reformation, and cannot be too widely read.

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9. *Theological Sketch-Book, or Skeletons of Sermons; carefully arranged in systematic Order, so as to constitute a complete Body of Divinity; partly original, but chiefly selected from Simeon's Hore Homiliticæ, and Skeletons; Sketches of Sermons; Pulpit Assistant; Benson's Plans; Preacher; Pulpit, and other approved Publications. Designed for the Use of Students of Divinity, Ministers of the Gospel, and private Christians.* In three volumes. Vol. 1. Baltimore: printed at the Publication Rooms, No. 7 South Liberty-street. New-York: Robert Carter, No. 58 Canal st., &c. 1844.

THOUGH works of this class are often abused, they still have their use. When they are used as a mere clew to the proper division of a text, they sometimes save time, and prevent the unpracticed preacher



from an unnatural arrangement of the matter of a sermon. But when used by the idle as a *crutch* to assist them in stumbling through a sermon, and to save them the trouble of thinking, they serve but a poor purpose. And the abuse of books of "Skeletons" is so frequent that we are sometimes led to doubt whether, upon the whole, they are not a positive evil. As models of sermonizing, the skeletons in the work before us are admirable; and those who need anything of the kind can scarcely do better than to procure these volumes.

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10. *The First Three Books of Homer's Iliad, according to the ordinary Text; and also with the Restoration of the Digamma.* To which are appended English Notes, a Metrical Index and Homeric Glossary. By CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D. Harper & Brothers.

THE labors of Professor Anthon, in the preparation of school books for the study of the classics, have been too long continued and are too well known to require mention here; but we cannot avoid extending a cordial welcome to this edition of Homer, which has been prepared in the same manner as the Latin classics which have preceded it. The notes are very full, and elucidate every portion of the work which to the learner might be obscure. Only three books have been thus presented. The edition, we should think, would at once be universally adopted in classical schools throughout the country.

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11. *Persecutions of Popery: Historical Narratives of the most remarkable Persecutions occasioned by the Intolerance of the Church of Rome.* By FREDERIC SHOBERL. Harper & Brothers.

THE author of this work urges the remarkable effort which Popery is now making to regain its power and dominion, as the reason for laying before the public this history of the bloodshed and agony of which it has been the cause. He writes in the spirit and with the zeal of a true Protestant. Prefixed to the body of the work is a brief sketch of the rise and progress of the Papal power; and a chapter is appended showing that the Romish Church is at the present day actuated by the same persecuting spirit which, wherever it was possible, it has always exhibited. The work will be read with general interest.

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12. *The Works of Charlotte Elizabeth.* In two volumes, 8vo. New-York: published by M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel, opposite City Hall. 1844.

WE always recommend works of fiction with care and reserve. The Works of Charlotte Elizabeth we consider among the least exceptionable of the whole class. They may, in particular states of mind, be read sparingly by several classes of readers. Their imagery is "true to nature," their spirit truly pious, and their moral good. They should

not, however, be devoured in so large quantities, especially by the young, as to superinduce an appetite for fiction. Light reading, however free from the fatal faults of our popular novels, like condiments, should be resorted to with great caution, and, especially by the young, under proper advisement.

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13. *Scenes, Incidents, and Adventures in the Pacific Ocean, on the Islands of the Australasian Seas, during the Cruise of the Clipper Margaret Oakley, under Capt. Benjamin Morell.* By THOMAS JEFFERSON JACOBS. Harper & Brothers.

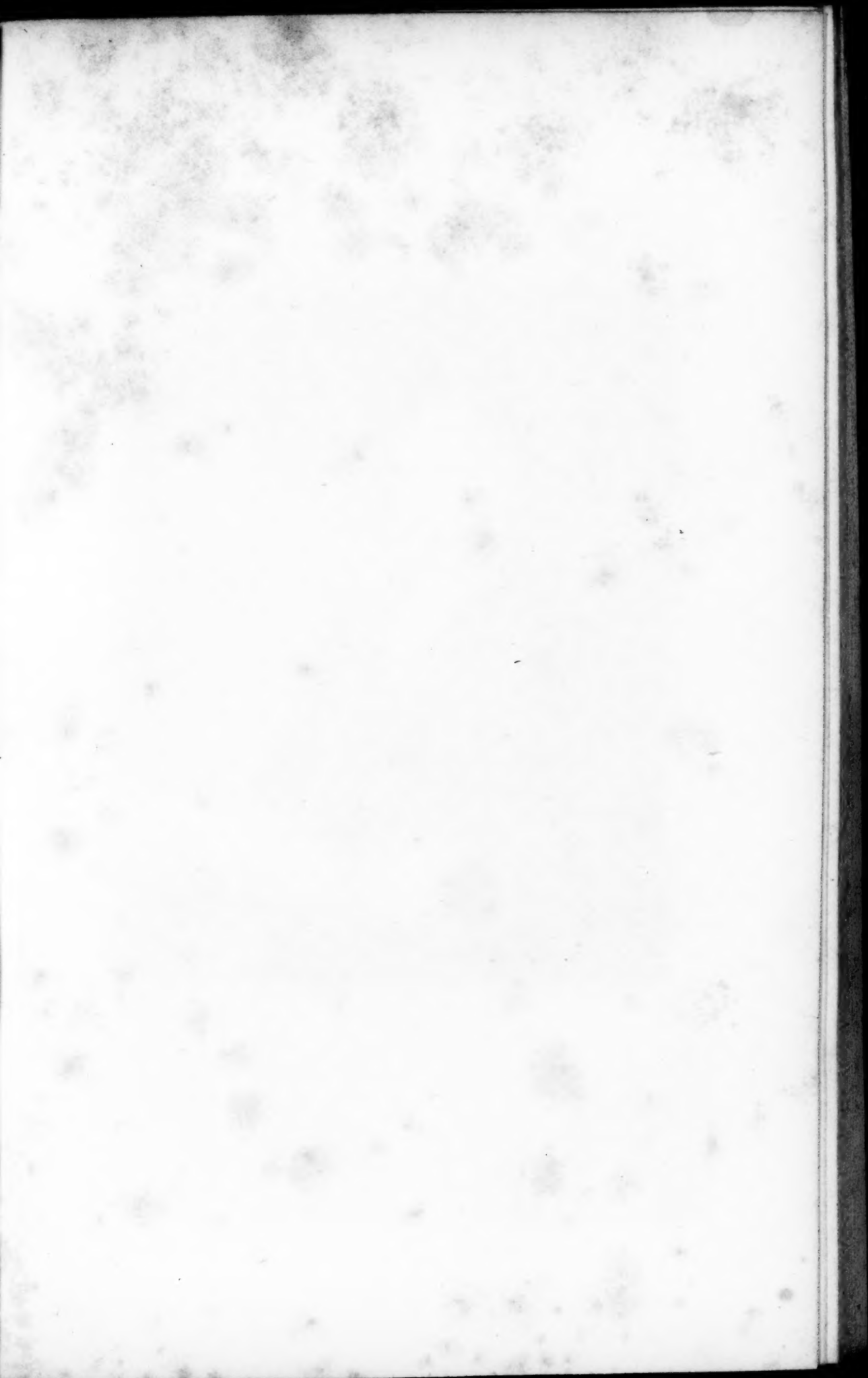
THIS is the title of a work professing to give a true account of the voyage mentioned in the title. Mr. Jacobs was a passenger in the vessel, and gives his own personal knowledge as his authority for the statements. The narrative possesses considerable interest, and will well repay perusal. It is issued in a handsome volume, accompanied by maps and numerous engravings.

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14. *Demonstration of the Necessity of Abolishing a constrained Clerical Celibacy; exhibiting the Evils of that Institution, and the Remedy.* By the Right Rev. DIOGO ANTONIO FEIJO, Senator and Ex-Regent of the Empire of Brazil, Bishop Elect of Marianna, etc., etc. Translated from the Portuguese, with an Introduction and Appendix, by Rev. D. P. KIDDER, A. M. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1844.

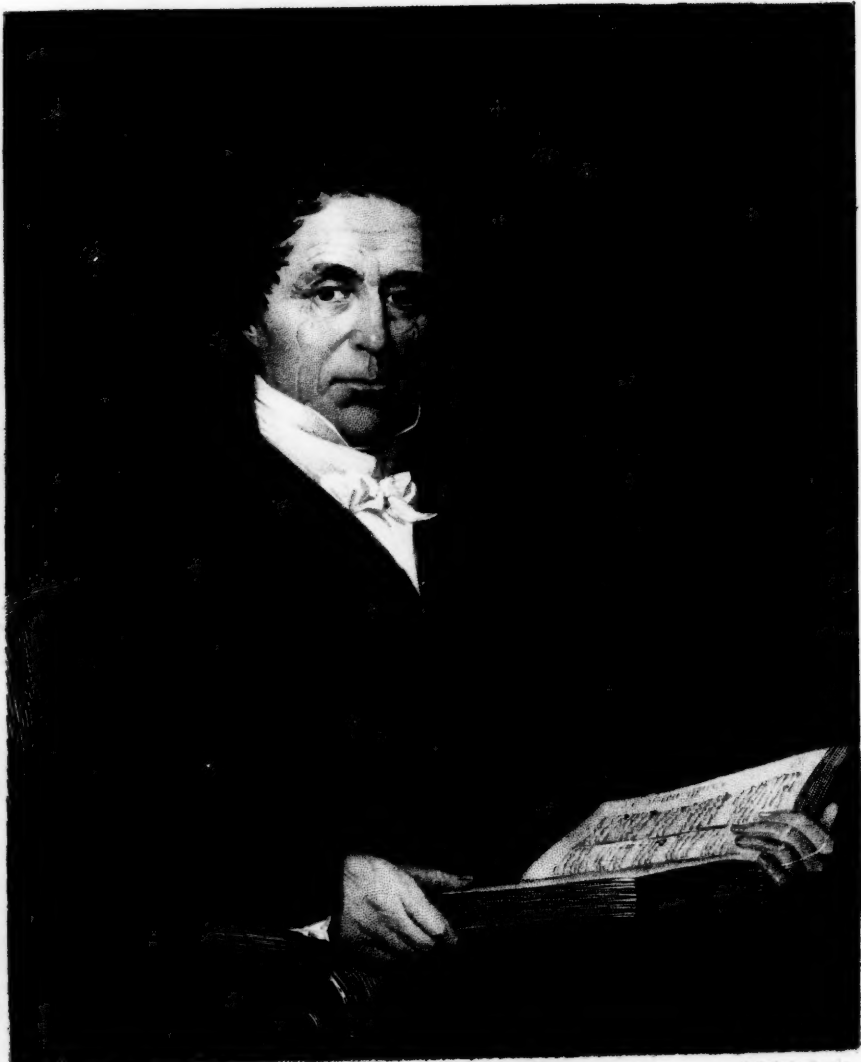
THIS is a work of great interest, and we hope it will be extensively read. We could say much of its merits, had we space. It is an encouraging fact that there are those in the Romish Church who see the evils of the system, and have the courage to enter their protest against it.

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15. *Sabbath School Books.*

UNDER this general head we intended to give the title-pages, with brief notices, of the several new books in this department which have been issued since the late General Conference. We have not space, however, to carry out this design. We are happy to bear testimony to the great diligence and eminent abilities of our new editor. Br. Kidder is rapidly filling up the catalogue with such works—both original, and selected from the best European publications—as are necessary fully to meet the wants of our sabbath schools. Our sabbath-school literature will soon take the elevated position which we have long desired, and which existing emergencies absolutely require. Soon, very soon, we hope our sabbath schools will be supplied from our own press with *all the books* they need. And when this shall be the case, we doubt not but those who have the management of these nurseries of piety in our church will draw upon our agents at New-York and Cincinnati for all they want to fill up their libraries.







J. Pine, Pinxt.

J. Bailey, Sculp.

REV. PETER AINSLIE, D.D.

1794

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